

IN THESE TIMES

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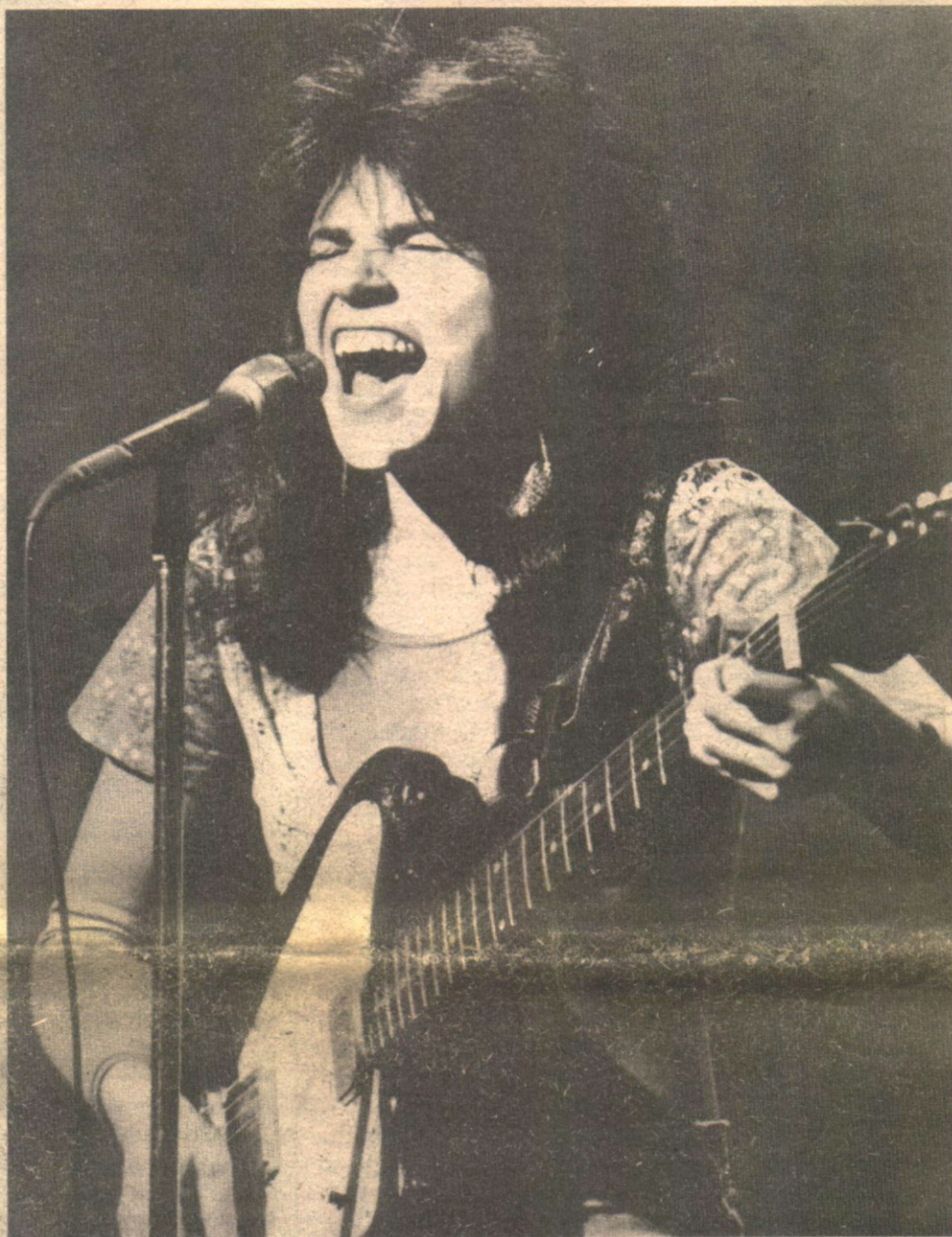
May 25-31, 1977

40 Cents



The new feminist musicians

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Jane Mairick



Amy Horowitz

Clockwise, from upper left: Margie Adam, Bev Grant, Holly Near / Mary Watkins, Ginni Clemmens.

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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS

Guest column by Alan Wolfe

Carter's "traders" want the balance of power put up for sale

The Carter administration is trying out new approaches to foreign policy like a fashion-conscious advertising executive trying on new suits. There is a showing of the latest fashions in human rights, followed by a glance at some old-fashioned anti-communism, then touched off by an impressive display of the very latest arms control rhetoric from New York.

To some extent the lack of a consistent trend is understandable. Carter takes office after eight years of Republican rule, and American leaders, unlike foreign designers, seem to feel that there is something inherently good about continuity. Moreover there are very real splits among the foreign policy intellectuals, and Carter has not yet chosen one side exclusively.

Consequently, if there is an underlying theory of American foreign policy, it may not emerge for quite some time.

But is there such a theory? Recently, both in these pages and elsewhere, the idea has been put forward that the postwar consensus on American foreign policy has crumbled. Whether the split is characterized by the differences between a Paul Warnke on the one hand and a Paul Nitze on the other, or whether it is viewed as a conflict between "traders" and "Prussians," as has also been suggested, these differences are real and promise to be lasting. There is strong ground for believing that Carter leans toward Warnke and the traders, not Nitze and the Prussians.

We are likely to see a new theory emerge over the next few years. Therefore it is important to begin to understand what the "traders" want now, so that we can keep up with their maneuverings over time.

An interdependent world.

The trader mentality is one that views the world order as an interdependent, and fragile, economic system. This may not sound like a dramatic insight, since radicals from Paul Baran to Immanuel Wallerstein have been saying the same thing for some time.

But viewing the world as an integrated capitalist system is something new for foreign policy intellectuals, for it means dismissing a preoccupation with national self-aggrandizement in favor of policies that preserve the strength of all the major trading partners, whatever their nationality.

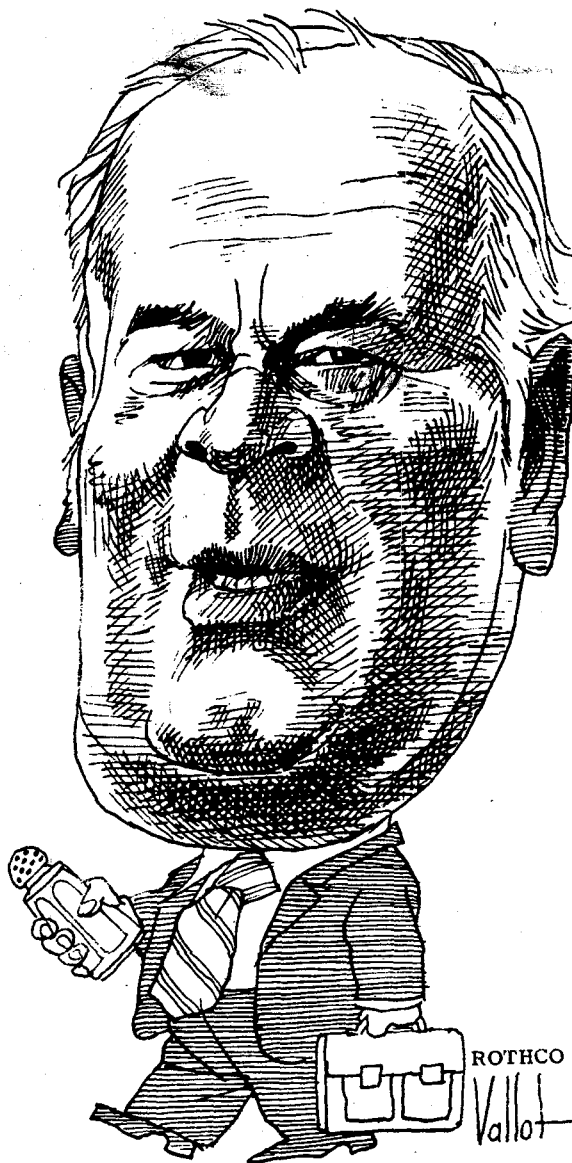
Because American power since World War II has been based on a balance of power approach, the adoption of a trader perspective means basic changes in the relationship between the U.S. and the rest of the world.

The meaning of some of those changes has been spelled out in the latest report from the Trilateral Commission. Written by Richard Cooper (now assistant secretary of State for economic affairs), Karl Kaiser of West Germany and Masataka Kosaka of Japan, the report is one of the most comprehensive statements of trader theory available. When combined with the essay by Edward R. Fried and Philip H. Trezise in the Brookings Institution study *Setting National Priorities: The Next Ten Years*, it tells us more of what we need to know about the latest fads in foreign policy tinkering.

Theories of the military/industrial complex to the contrary, there have always been capitalists who were more interested in a peaceful world than one armed to the teeth. The latest report is very much in this direction. There is a strong call for arms reduction, a principle to which key Carter advisers like Warnke and Harold Brown seem committed. Running throughout the document is the theme that nuclear war, or even the omnipresent threat of it, is too destabilizing for trade to be maximized.

Is this concern with arms control and denuclearization sincere? The answer is yes, but in a pragmatic, not a moralist, sense. The fact is that we already have the

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Trader Paul Warnke

In Washington, the new "trader" approach to foreign policy is gaining support. It exchanges the doomsday anti-Communist vision for one of a depoliticized world order. It is willing to sacrifice welfare at home for smooth sailing abroad.

capacity for overkill. Ideology must not blind us to reality. Capitalists can rarely afford to be too ideological, and doomsday anti-communism is, above everything else, an ideology.

Depoliticize the world order.

But how should the peace be kept? The answer is through the depoliticization of the world order, or what the Trilateral people call the "separation of the issue areas." Issue separation is the direct opposite of what Henry Kissinger called "linkages." Instead of viewing every aspect of a nation state's behavior as tied to every other aspect, matters of international controversy should be reduced to their essentials and dealt with on a piecemeal basis.

"The case for separation of issue areas—what we call piecemeal functionalism—is at least threefold. Strong gains to all participating countries can be made in numerous specific, functional areas. These gains are most

likely to be achieved by focusing on the functional area in question rather than through diplomatic discussion and negotiation cutting across many areas. Finally, agreement is more likely to be achieved among specialists treating the issue as a relatively technical one than among political generalists for whom the issue is more likely to become symbolic of victory or defeat for particular national or regional political viewpoints."

The world economy, according to this report, should be managed through careful consultation on the part of its dominant members. This means that the rough contours of the present world system must be accepted, while allowing for gradual change.

"The Trilateral countries regard acceptance of pluralism as an essential characteristic of human organization. Being fully aware of the differences between themselves and others, they do not set out to remake the world in their own image but accept the existing variety."

A policy of "enlightened self-interest" must be the rule. This means that countries like the U.S. should work to stimulate demands for imports (American labor beware), while encouraging some industrialization in the Third World. National capitalist institutions may have to yield prerogatives if world capitalist institutions are to be strengthened.

A visionary document.

World system management should not take place, according to the report, through international bodies like the United Nations. Apparently the UN is too democratic for the traders, too heavily dominated by the political notion of one nation/one vote. Instead the report calls for "international rule-making combined with national, regional, or local management." Brazil can manage the Southern cone, Iran the Persian gulf and the Soviet Union Eastern Europe, while the Trilateral nationals can preserve the framework within which the whole structure operates.

Finally, the report endorses the notion that satisfaction of human needs on a world scale must be addressed. "We believe that the Trilateral countries should substantially increase the flow of resources addressed to alleviating world poverty, with emphasis on improving food production, providing simple health care delivery (including healthful water supplies, sanitation, and help in family planning), and extending literacy."

While some members of the Trilateral Commission are giving up on the welfare state at home, others wish to extend it abroad. There is evident reason for their concern. Poor people over there may aspire to revolutionary agitation, just as poor people over here once did. A little foresight can go a long way. Besides, "recipient countries whose sense of national sovereignty is offended by such conditions can decline the foreign assistance."

The latest Trilateral report goes further than Carter can afford to go at this time. It remains something of a visionary document, a statement of the world that traders would like to realize.

Whether they can realize it or not is another matter entirely. American leaders created an anti-communist ideology when it served their purpose, but once created, it is hard to dismantle, as they are now discovering.

Similarly the notion that both capital and national labor must take less will not go down easily to people who quite realistically expect more.

Finally, it will surely prove impossible to cut welfare at home while extending it abroad.

Precisely because they conflict so much with the direction of American policy since the 1940s, the goals of the traders will not be met automatically.

Alan Wolfe writes regularly for *In These Times*.

IN THESE TIMES

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EDITORIAL

James Weinstein, Editor, M.J. Sklar, Associate Editor, Doyle Niemann, Managing Editor, John Judis, Foreign News, Janet Stevenson, Culture, Judy MacLean, Dan Marshall, David Moberg, National Staff, Bill Burr, Keenen Peck, Steve Rosswurm, Library.

ART

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BUSINESS

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BUREAUS

SAN FRANCISCO: Claire Greensfelder, Joel Parker, 4120 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, (415) 658-6754. SOUTHERN: Jon Jacobs, 830 W. Peachtree St., Suite 111, Atlanta, GA 30308, (404) 881-1689.

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Restoring military aid to dictatorships

By Philip Brenner

WASHINGTON, D.C. In a stunning rejection of previous stands, the Congress last week moved towards restoration of military aid programs in Latin American countries governed by right-wing dictatorships.

The House and the Senate are expected to pass this week the International Security Assistance Act of 1977. The Act would allow six military advisors in the U.S. embassies of any country receiving equipment under the Security Assistance Program. The Senate Foreign Relations committee approved the provision two weeks ago, and both houses are taking it up this week.

Last year the Congress ended all military assistance to Chile, largely because of alleged human rights violations there. However, it permitted Foreign Military Sales obligations that had been contracted before June 30, 1976, the date on which the law took effect, to be fulfilled.

On the enactment date the U.S. had nearly \$120 million in Foreign Military Sales credits still obligated to Chile, including almost \$10 million contracted in a flurry of activity between the time of the law's passage and its effective date. Chile still has \$100 million in equipment being delivered or available for purchase with FMS credits.

The Department of Defense has used the aid tied up in this so-called "pipeline" to justify the placement of advisors in the American embassy in Chile. Publicly the department claims that the group of advisors—which it calls an Office of Defense Cooperation—is necessary to provide technical advice on the use of American military hardware. It main-

Privately, one Defense spokesman said

"the administration wants the Chileans to realize that they are close friends and allies of the U.S."

tains that the ODC is different from a military advisory group and will not participate in military planning and guidance.

However, privately the department is telling the Congress a different story. One congressional aide reported that a high Defense department spokesman said "the administration wants the Chileans to realize that they are close friends and allies of the United States. The administration wants to preclude a Peruvian situation, where countries buy arms from the Russians."

Foreign military sales credits are principally American government guarantees, used by recipient countries to secure loans for the purchase of military equipment from the U.S. The purchases also usually include training in the use of the equipment. A less common form of FMS credit is a direct loan from the Defense department for the purchase of equipment. The \$120 million FMS credits to Chile are for the purchase of F-5 and A-37 fighter planes and spare parts.

In a related move the House reinstated the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) program in ten countries. The Senate version of the International Security Act would authorize MAAGs in 17 countries.

The Congress ended the MAAG pro-

gram overall last year because of growing concern that MAAGs had come to supplant American ambassadors in countries governed by military regimes, and that they often acted as lobbyists for increased military assistance to these countries.

However, last year's act included a provision that would permit the administration to request the restoration of MAAG programs on a country-by-country basis. This year the administration asked to continue MAAGs in 25 countries. The full House has already approved 130 advisors in South Korea, 60 in Turkey, and 30 in Spain, with smaller contingents slated for Greece, Indonesia, Jordan, Panama, the Philippines, Portugal and Thailand. The Senate's list will undoubtedly be longer.

Both the House and Senate scrapped an administration request for a MAAG program in Argentina, but left open the possibility of six advisors for Argentina as a ODC group. Despite Argentina's rejection of all direct American military assistance—after the administration cut its aid request in half due to alleged human rights violations in Argentina—it continues to receive FMS credits and so is eligible for ODC advisors. Likewise, ODCs are planned for El Salvador, Hon-

duras, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic.

The Defense department has changed the name of the MAAG program to Defense Field Offices (DEFOs). But in its official presentation to Congress the department indicated that DEFOs would function in the same manner as MAAGs, with the traditional "emphasis on fostering and strengthening inter-service ties and closer relations between the host country military and the U.S."

The House International Relations committee also defeated a move by Rep. Helen Meyner (D-NJ) that would have stricken from the bill authority to train military officers in Argentina, Brazil, El Salvador and Guatemala. These are the four countries President Carter had cited recently for human rights violations. In the Senate no member of the Foreign Relations committee proposed a similar cut-off to these countries.

In the case of Argentina, for example, the training program will include the enrollment at the Canal Zone School of the Americas of four Army personnel for courses in "jungle operations," of three Army "distinguished visitors" in seminars on "intelligence" and "civic action," and of four Army personnel in courses on "military intelligence/counter-intelligence."

Between 1970 and 1975 the Canal Zone School trained more than 600 Argentine military officers in 13 courses on jungle operations, eleven on counter-insurgency operations, and seven on urban counter-insurgency, as well as in six other categories of courses.

Philip Brenner is a Washington correspondent for In These Times.

Israeli right scores election upset

Photo by UPI



Menachem Begin, leader of the Likud party and Israel's next prime minister, gets a blessing from a rabbi after his election victory in front of his party's Tel Aviv headquarters.

Like India's Congress party, Israel's Labor party had never lost an election, and in spite of widespread disaffection with its rule and splits within the party itself, few observers expected it to lose last week's election. But lose it did—to the right-wing Likud party.

Likud captured 41 seats in the 120-seat Knesset, the Israeli parliament, to Labor's 33, making it the largest party and giving it and its 63-year-old leader Mehaheh Begin, the right to form a coalition government.

Likud, which stands for "unity," was formed in 1967 to oppose the Labor party from the right. It favors permanent annexation of Jordan's West Bank, which was captured in the 1967 war. It sees the Palestinian Liberation Organization as a pawn of the Soviet Union, and generally tends to equate Palestinian nationalism with communism.

The party favors increasing the role of private enterprise in Israel's economy, which has hitherto been dominated by the Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation that owns much of Israel's industry. It also favors compulsory arbitration for strikes.

Likud's victory is largely seen as Labor's defeat. Likud's percentage of the Israeli vote did not increase markedly from 1973, when it won 39 seats, but Labor went down from 51 to 33 seats. Many of Labor's votes seem to have gone to Yigdal Yadin's Movement for Democratic Change, an anti-corruption splinter from the Labor party, which gained 14 seats to become the third largest party.

In the wake of Watergate-type scandals that rocked the Labor party this year, implicating several ministers, and finally forcing the resignation of Labor prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, the MDC was able to attract widespread support.

Labor was also blamed for Israel's growing unemployment, which now stands at 5 percent, and galloping inflation, which has gone as high as 40 percent.

Carter's recent call for a "Palestinian homeland" in exchange for Palestinian recognition of Israel's right to exist was

seen as a final blow to the Labor party, which had rested its fortunes on its close ties to the U.S.

The Israeli left did not do as well as it expected. The Communist party coalition, Hadash, which had expected to win as many as ten seats, won only six, while the other left coalition Sheli won two seats.

Arab response.

The response from PLO and from Arab capitals has been sharp and pessimistic. Radio Damascus described Likud as the most "terrorist, extremist, and pig-headed bloc in Israel."

Palestinians who live on the West Bank, the area hitherto designated as the site of a Palestinian mini-state, fear harsher military rule and a step-up in Israeli settlements in the occupied land.

The PLO sees an increased risk of war, and all parties expect that the Likud victory will delay the reopening of the Geneva talks.

But one Cairo official was quoted by the *New York Times* as saying: "They are all hawks. Only some sound more hawkish than others. It's a difference in shade, not in substance."

The Egyptian official went on to say that the U.S., upon which Israel is dependent for its survival, holds the key to peace in the Middle East: "The United States is capable of putting pressure on any Israeli government regardless of its color."

In his post-election statements, Likud leader Begin has attempted to move toward a more moderate position. He has called for a "national unity" cabinet in which he has invited the Labor party to participate. He has expressed his willingness to meet with Egyptian, Syrian and Jordanian leaders as soon as possible.

But on the critical issue of the West Bank, Begin has remained adamant. In his first news conference, when asked about the "occupied territories," he responded, "What occupied territories? If you mean Judea and Samaria [on the West Bank] you mean liberated territories."

—John Judis

NUCLEAR POWER

Congress bucks Carter on breeder

By Jon Stewart
Pacific News Service

WASHINGTON—While attention has focused on foreign criticism of President Carter's efforts to halt nuclear proliferation, recent events under the Capital Dome may be even more threatening to the administration's nuclear policy.

Powerful forces in Congress—abetted by a marked lack of support for the President in his own administration—have mounted a campaign to reverse Carter's decision to delay the nation's breeder reactor and nuclear fuel reprocessing programs.

Both programs produce plutonium, the prime ingredient of nuclear weapons. The administration fears that commercialization and export of such facilities will provide non-nuclear nations an irresistible capacity to develop their own nuclear arsenals. Carter's commitment to foreclose the plutonium programs was also intended as a tangible example to other nuclear nations.

Trouble in Congress.

But by a resounding 38-0 vote the House Science and Technology Committee elected May 11 to restore some \$117 million for continued development of the plutonium breeder reactor project at Clinch River, Tenn. Without congressional support the President's foreign policy initiative on non-proliferation may strike a hollow note among the other nuclear supplier nations.

Meanwhile, a similar revolt is brewing in the Senate Energy Committee, where the nuclear lobby believes the breeder has even greater support. Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho) declared in a recent speech that "the administration's nuclear energy policy is a formula for nuclear isolationism," expressing his support for both the breeder and the fuel reprocessing programs.

The Senate committee is expected to hold hearings soon on the breeder authorization. Congressional sources expect Church to block any administration effort to introduce an amendment representing the President's position.

Several staff sources close to the debate claim the administration itself is chiefly to blame for the House committee vote.

Said one congressional staff member,



"The administration never came up and said why they were doing what they were doing." He added that the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA) "is acting in a manner that's counter-productive to the administration's policy."

Leftovers from Ford/Nixon.

The view that forces within ERDA—which is to say, within the administration—are not supporting the administration's position is reinforced by other sources.

According to an aide to Rep. Tom Harkins, who carried the President's amendment in the House committee, "ERDA was definitely not there to push the President's position, either in a lobbying stance or in a public stance... Whether by commission or omission, ERDA by its absence has hurt the President."

All current ERDA appointees, including the chief congressional liaison and lobbyist, Hollister Cantus, date from the

Ford and Nixon administrations.

Beyond ERDA's failure to drum up support on deferment of the breeder, the White House itself is blamed by some for "not having learned to lobby on the hill yet."

Supporters of the President's anti-breeder position are already looking for other avenues to derail the revitalized actor. If the House amendment to restore breeder funding can't be reversed in the Science and Technology Committee, many of whose members represent districts with high-level research and development programs, the next target may be the House International Relations Committee, which has requested the ERDA bill be referred to it before coming to the House floor. The committee is concerned with its foreign policy aspects.

According to a source on that committee, "There's no way that money is going to stay in the budget. The Science and Technology Committee was undermining U.S. foreign policy when they worked this mischief [on breeder funding]."

"We can beat them on the floor and we can beat them in the International Relations Committee and there's a good chance we can beat them in their own committee on a revote" following new hearings, scheduled for the next few weeks, he predicted.

The International Relations Committee will also hold hearings on Rep. Jonathan Bingham's (D-N.Y.) bill to ban nuclear exports—a measure that goes well beyond the President's position.

Bingham has also introduced another measure that would prevent the Nuclear Regulatory Commission from licensing any plutonium-handling facility aside from military, medical or experimental programs. The bill would effectively ban all breeder or reprocessing programs involving plutonium.

West German cutbacks.

Ironically, on the very day the breeder funds were restored by the House committee, West Germany—a leading advocate of the plutonium economy and breeder development—announced a \$51.7 million cutback on breeder funding.

The West German decision, coming just days after Chancellor Helmut Schmidt promised to make nuclear exports the nation's top foreign exchange earner, was apparently not a reaction to Carter's non-proliferation initiative. Rather, it was a response to domestic critics of West Germany's nuclear program, who now represent a significant political force.

Similar domestic opposition to the plutonium breeder is growing in France and Britain, where fragile coalition governments are equally vulnerable to political pressure.

The news from West Germany buoyed administration officials just as it saddened the nuclear industry lobby. Said the Atomic Industrial Forum's Tom Hunt, an active congressional lobbyist, "The West German decision is certainly not going to be a great help, but Helmut Schmidt is not going to stop the breeder. It looks like [the freeze] may have been a token gesture, but it doesn't make us happy."

Still, said Hunt, any effort to halt weapons proliferation through a halt on the breeder reactor "is specious."

"Nobody is going to contain the breeder," he said.

REPRESSION

FBI conspired against Republic of New Afrika

Despite past FBI denials new documents reveal a concerted attack to discredit and destroy the RNA.

JACKSON, MISS.—The FBI conducted secret COINTELPRO (disruptive "counter intelligence" operations) operations against Imari Obadele, President of the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA), in 1968 and 1969, recently released documents have revealed. They show that the FBI circulated letters intended to disrupt and discredit activities of Obadele and the RNA, including one letter on RNA letterhead with Obadele's signature forged by the FBI.

Obadele is currently serving a 12-year sentence in federal prison on conspiracy charges stemming from a shootout here in August 1971. The new documents tend to confirm charges by Obadele and his supporters that they were victims of a conspiracy on the part of the FBI and government.

As recently as last Dec. 15 FBI director Clarence Kelley denied that Obadele and the RNA were COINTELPRO targets. But on March 30 Kelley reversed himself and released ten pages of FBI communications about the letters, including copies.

The documents also appear to contradict a sworn statement submitted to U.S. District Judge Walter Nixon Jr. in 1973 prior to Obadele's trial. Defense attorneys had asked the government to produce any documents of actions against Obadele and the RNA that could be "arguably illegal." The Justice department responded with a sworn affidavit to the court

stating that a search of the files disclosed no illegal activity by the government.

False rumor of misused funds.

The new documents describe how in November 1968 the special agent in charge of the Detroit FBI office asked FBI director J. Edgar Hoover for permission to circulate an anonymous letter "to various members of the Republic of New Afrika" suggesting that then-information minister Obadele was misusing RNA funds.

The plan was approved by Hoover's assistant, who noted, "Since this is an anonymous letter, there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau."

The Detroit office reported the letters "did create a favorable response" and requested authority to mail a similar letter to RNA officials in other states. The

same rumor was circulated among civil rights lawyers in Mississippi between 1971 and 1974 to disrupt RNA legal defense efforts.

The FBI also wanted to "develop the best possible means of counterintelligence action against the newly-formed Black Panther party" of Detroit. So a letter was prepared and circulated "on RNA stationery and signed by Brother Imari, to prospective members of BPP and certain BPP officials."

The fake letter said, "In the past the Black Panther party has not helped black people but has bled the black community of respect and has organized prostitution and crime. It threatens with violence black businesses who do not wish to support them and through acts of terror bring the wrath of the white cop on the inno-

cent black community."

In explaining this letter to Hoover the agent wrote, "Detroit believes this letter will be effective in creating dissension between the RNA and the BPP."

The signature on the letter is an excellent copy of Obadele's handwriting.

Mississippi attack.

In 1971 the FBI directed an armed attack on RNA headquarters in Jackson, aided by local police. One police officer was killed and others wounded.

Three RNA members were subsequently convicted of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment and a fourth was given a ten-year sentence.

Dismayed that they had failed to ensnare Obadele, who had spent the night at a different house five blocks away, the FBI charged that there had been an RNA conspiracy to attack federal officers, that Obadele had given the orders to shoot.

While the FBI concealed its own actions against the RNA, a paid informer, Thomas "Snoopy" Spells, testified to the FBI version of the facts. Even though some of his testimony was discredited (for example, he testified that Tamu Sana Ana was at a meeting in Mississippi at a time when she could prove she was in Ghana), the court convicted Obadele and the other RNA defendants.

Despite FBI claims to the contrary, COINTELPRO has not ended for these men and women.

Ken Lawrence is a writer in Jackson.

JOBS & EMPLOYMENT

Trouble with unemployment insurance

By Paul Rosenstiel
As the recession of recent years deepened, the task of combatting it fell to the unemployment insurance (UI) system. To the already established program, with its 2,700 offices around the country, a number of amendments were made: more workers were brought under its coverage, benefit levels were increased and benefits were made payable for as many as 65 weeks.

In this way the government quickly pumped vast amounts of money into the economy (\$19.5 billion in fiscal year 1976), enabling unemployed workers to weather long periods of joblessness and preventing the economy from skidding into a 1930s-style depression.

But now a reaction to these lifesaving expansions has set in among many economists and politicians. The expansion of the last few years are being whittled away. Eventually, the entire concept and scope of the system may be altered, leaving it but a withered and pale resemblance of what it was even before the recession.

The cutbacks began May 1 when about 120,000 workers were cut from the program as the maximum number of weeks of benefits was reduced to 52. Next February that figure will probably shrink to 39—the pre-recession maximum—leaving even more of the unemployed without benefits. And until February, those people collecting beyond 39 weeks may be compelled to take jobs of less skill and less pay than they customarily take or face losing UI benefits.

The timing of these cutbacks obviously isn't linked to a sharp decline in unemployment. With official unemployment still above 7 percent the "recovery" for the unemployed hasn't arrived.

But for business and government economists it is now two years old and fully in bloom. For them the primary worry these days is inflation. An expanded UI system is perceived as both unnecessary and, perhaps, inflationary as well.

Dissatisfaction with program.

But dissatisfaction with the expanded UI system among many economists and policy makers runs even deeper. They argue that using it to counter a deep recession perverts the insurance concept of the system and that's what they'd like to get back to.

"I think almost everyone knowledgeable in the area agrees that 65 weeks of benefits in terms of an insurance program financed by employer contributions is too three states are now \$4.6 billion in debt to the federal unemployment trust fund.

long," says Roger Rossi, head of research for the Unemployment Insurance Service in Washington.

Congress, too, is dissatisfied. Last year it established the National Commission on Unemployment Compensation to formulate plans for changing the system. Its recommendations are due by the end of next year.

One factor pushing economists to revamp the system is the huge debts it has incurred over the last few years. With high unemployment benefit payments have far exceeded receipts from the employer payroll taxes that pay for them. Twenty-

haps non-poor recipients should be cut from the program. They cite preliminary government statistics showing that 61 percent of FSB recipients have incomes above the poverty line, even with UI benefits excluded.

Is it a question of skills?

Beyond the financial problems many economists and policy makers are getting uncomfortable paying people not to work for 65 weeks. Many believe that long-term unemployment is actually not a problem of need. As a result, many advocating change in the system argue that per-

Since the UI system is meant to tide workers over until they get a new job, this provision is necessary, explains Rossi, because "if they don't have a saleable skill then the whole conceptual structure of the unemployment insurance program begins to break down."

The federal government has taken a few steps towards providing more jobs to some of the long-term unemployed. Under President Carter's economic stimulus package 240,000 jobs, provided for in an October amendment to the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), will be created specifically for low income people unemployed 15 weeks or longer or recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children. If these jobs are funded by Congress, administrators in Washington hope to move some FSB recipients to them.

Not a comprehensive program.

But it's questionable whether this approach offers anything but a temporary solution to the plight of the long-term unemployed. The CETA jobs provide no training. They are temporary projects lasting no longer than a year. The unemployed who take these jobs will find themselves in the same boat a year later—no jobs, no new skills and no demand for the skills they have.

The National League of Cities supports limiting benefits to only 12 weeks if UI were part of an overall employment, training, insurance and welfare program.

While AFL-CIO advocates an extensive UI system, an employment and training expert close to the labor movement says that stance is just a "bargaining position" from which the AFL-CIO can fight for what it really wants: an expansion of public service jobs.

Past experience, however, offers little evidence the government can or wants to create an effective and comprehensive program of jobs and training. Says the AFL-CIO, "CETA and other employment and training program have been able to help only a fraction of the disadvantaged and unemployed." Attempts to offer training within the UI system have hardly gotten off the ground.

Whether the government will go ahead and slash the UI system without ensuring adequate jobs for those left dangling remains to be seen. At the very least, it would seem that hard times are on the way for those unfortunate enough to not have a job as Carter and his advisers prepare for "good times."

Paul Rosenstiel is a free-lance writer in San Francisco.



"Sorry...Due to economic difficulties we may be unable to continue this program."

Illustration by Jay Kinney

In turn, the fund has borrowed a total of \$12 billion from the Treasury to cover a variety of deficits.

To prevent the debts from growing ever larger, the same law that this month cut benefits to 52 weeks also switched funding of the Federal Supplemental Benefits program (FSB), which pays benefits beyond 39 weeks, from payroll taxes to general Treasury revenues.

But Treasury financing severs the link that made the programs an insurance system and justified paying benefits on the basis of past earnings rather than finan-

of a stagnating economy but rather the result of job-seekers not possessing the skills that companies wish to hire. Says Pierce Quinlan, administrator of the Office of Comprehensive Employment Development, "The likelihood of them returning to their previous occupations is not great."

Thus new FBS guidelines require recipients whose skills, in the opinion of the UI office, are not in demand seek other jobs even if they are less skilled or lower paying than the recipient's usual line of work.

French rally supports Wilmington 10

PARIS, FRANCE—More than 3,500 Parisians crowded into a hall here May 5 to demand the release of the Wilmington 10, a group of imprisoned civil rights activists in North Carolina. Featured speakers were Angela Davis and George Marchais, head of the French Communist party. In a major policy address Marchais declared that his party would be second to none in the defense of freedom in all its dimensions and in all countries—capitalist or socialist.

He attributed the recurring pattern of racial and political repression in the U.S. to an economic system that "reduces millions of people to poverty and unemployment while the kings of the dollar flaunt their limitless wealth."

He recalled the common struggles for liberty waged by the French and American people since the American Revolution and expressed the wish that this friendship would continue. At the same time he warned the Carter administration that the French people would not tolerate any interference with its own political choices or any external effort to reverse the gains secured by a left government.

Davis, who became a cause celebre here

during her own imprisonment, received enthusiastic support. "North Carolina," she declared, "is our South Africa. Like the Vorster regime there, the government of North Carolina takes out huge advertisements in the business press inviting large companies to come where labor is cheap and plentiful and profits at their highest level." She drew a laugh when she mentioned that Michelin, the major French tire manufacturer, had recently invested in North Carolina to take advantage of the situation.

Meanwhile in the U.S., a special post-conviction hearing is being held to determine whether the Wilmington 10 defendants, who were convicted in 1972 and sentenced to long jail terms, should be granted a new trial. Key prosecution witnesses have recanted their 1972 testimony, saying that they were pressured and coached by the prosecution. Other irregularities are also being examined. The state of North Carolina has announced that if a new trial is ordered by the court, they will not conduct one.

—Bernard H. Moss

Bernard H. Moss writes regularly for In These Times from France.



"North Carolina is our South Africa," Angela Davis proclaimed.

CITIES

Mysterious fires in Mission District

By Juan Cruz
and Gwen Roginsky

In a smoke-filled room an elderly man gasps for a breath of fresh air as he claws his way to a fire exit only to find it sealed. In an adjoining room, a terror-stricken woman screams for help and suddenly leaps to her death as her two-story apartment is engulfed in flames.

This scene is a recurring nightmare for poor residents of San Francisco's Mission district, a predominantly Latino community that has suffered a rash of fires over the last two years.

One neighborhood in particular has been hard hit. A recent study revealed that "within the boundaries of Guerrero St., South Van Ness, 17th and 14th Streets, there have been a total of 133 fires during a three-year period," resulting in at least 16 deaths.

Interestingly, the report also noted that "the overwhelming majority of the fires have occurred within the immediate blocks surrounding the 16th/Mission BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) station." Of the 133 fires, 14 were attributed to arson and 12 of these occurred within one block of the BART station. (Since then the number of known arson cases in the 16th/Valencia area has risen to 41.)

The 16th/Valencia area is the poorest section of the neighborhood. Some 46 percent of the families there make less than \$6,000 a year and the unemployment rate hovers around 20 percent—about double that of San Francisco as a whole. The area also has the lowest percentage of resident homeowners in the Mission and the highest percentage of absentee landlords.

Families have increasingly fled the neighborhood, to be replaced by a large influx of poor refugees from the demolished homes and hotels around the Yerba Buena Convention Center site. The area has also become home for a disproportionate number of transients and a "dumping ground" for people the city social services can't handle.

Yet, for all that, property is changing hands at a rate similar to levels city-wide. Asked why such an economically depressed area should be the site for so much speculation, one resident replied, "You can stand on any roof in this part

of town and see the highrises following the BART line, and you know in what direction they're headed."

A staff member of the Mission Planning Council recalls, "When the ground was broken for BART, there was an attempt to build highrises or at least to get high height zoning. But because of intense community resistance the height limits were zoned low. But zoning laws aren't forever, and who knows what will happen."

Another activist adds, "If the neighborhood is burned out, who will be there to oppose high rise development in the future?"

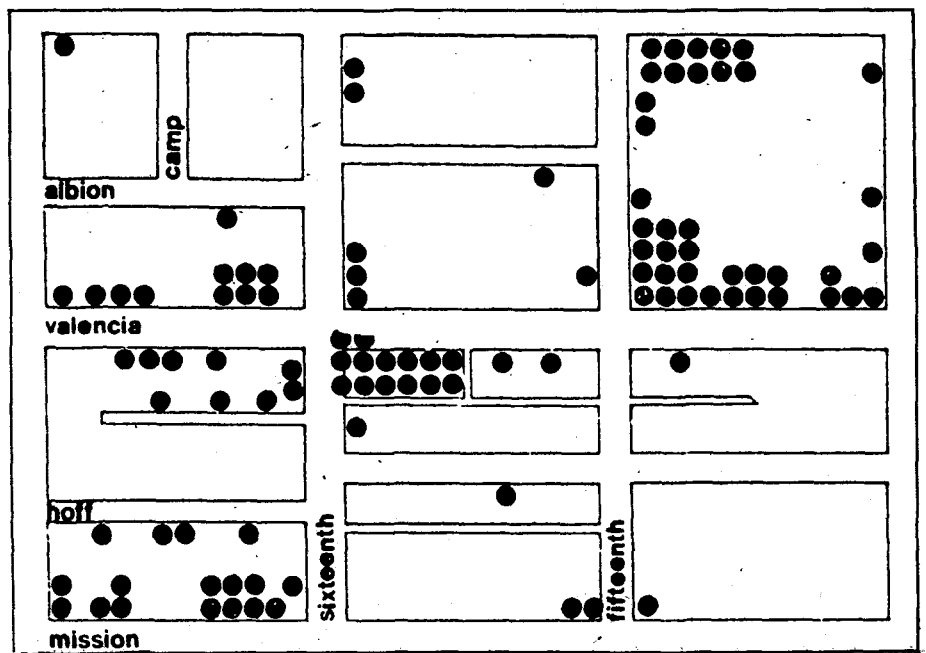
Community fears that the fires are linked to redevelopment plans are fanned by the history of other poor neighborhoods in San Francisco. The Western Addition, a black neighborhood close to City Hall and the Opera House, was similarly plagued by fires, many attributed to arson, shortly before being taken over by the redevelopment Agency.

The Agency argued the area was so unsafe and full of fire traps that it had to be torn down and rebuilt from scratch. It now stands as an urban wasteland, torn down but not yet rebuilt.

The buildings hit so far in the Mission are usually without adequate fire safety equipment and have numerous building and safety code violations.

The different city agencies responsible for code enforcement are understaffed, armed with weak laws and encumbered with inflexible time scheduling. "We cannot keep up with the number of cases of code non-compliance that we have to prosecute," says Edward J. Johnson, city attorney in charge of prosecuting landlords who refuse to comply with building and safety codes. "We may close 20 cases a month, but we get 30 a month and there isn't enough staff here to cope with it."

Meanwhile, the fires take their toll on the ability of the neighborhood to survive. "The fires are creating an aura of suspicion, especially with the elderly. They are most victimized by the fires, high rents, and crime. We are poor, almost all of us are without fire insurance, so we lose our shirts if we are victims of a fire," an old-time resident explains.



The fire cycle doesn't end when the fire is put out. The gutted buildings stand as reminders of neglect and horror. "When you see two or more hulks within a few blocks of each other," sighs a resident, "you can see the rot of the neighborhood—it's like an unburied corpse."

One community organization, Operation Upgrade, has begun to organize around the need for increased code enforcement, rehabilitation of existing housing, and possible alternative housing such as cooperatives.

Betty Anello, co-chair of Operation Upgrade, explains, "I have to question the

values of our economic system where property and real estate rights are the most protected and most sacred, while the basic rights like the right to decent housing are the least protected and most disregarded."

But as the flames continue to engulf the area, Operation Upgrade and other community organizations admit they are in a race against time to save the neighborhood.

Juan Cruz and Gwen Roginsky are writers for the Mission District community newspaper *El Tecolote*.

LABOR

Stewardesses moving towards independent unions

By Cindy Hounsell

Guess what your average airline stewardess is up to these days. She's getting ready to decertify the union as her bargaining agent.

Until last November about half of the industry's flight attendants (15-20 percent are men) were affiliated with the Association of Flight Attendants (AFA), an arm of the airline pilots' association. The other half were members of the Transport Workers Union (TWU), which also represents New York's subway workers. (Delta is the only major airline that has not been unionized.)

In recent years working conditions on the unionized lines have deteriorated as too many jumbo jets, the spiraling cost of fuel and recession-related declines in air travel have brought troubles to the airlines. With major lines like Pan Am and TWA on the brink of bankruptcy, costs have been drastically cut and flight attendants have been the major victims.

Wages have been held down. Planes fly fuller with fewer attendants. Working days have been increased and promises of better equipment to compensate for the added load have invariably been

broken. At Pan Am flight attendants on 747s have been reduced from 16-18 when the plane was put in service to 9-12, depending on the passenger count. As *Aviation Weekly* reports, flight attendant productivity has tripled in a decade.

The deterioration in working conditions coincided with the spread of the women's movement among stewardesses, and with the formation of Stewardesses for Women's Rights (SFWR), which had 1,500 members at its peak.

One result of the formation and growth of SFWR was that stewardesses committed to changing conditions and the image of attendants became more active in their unions. Tommie Blake, an American Airlines stewardess and TWU member, for instance, was elected president of her local, which contained 5,500 attendants. Progress was immediate: over 120 members were trained in grievance procedures; a 24-hour toll-free number was made available to attendants with contractual questions. For the first time, the union appeared to care about its flight attendants. But progress may have come too late.

Last November attendants at Continental Airlines broke off negotiations and formed an independent union, the first of several and the only one in which attendants have a chance to improve their situation. Continental attendants are unified behind a strong leadership—and the airline itself has been profitable. The independents are now in the last stages of negotiating a first contract.

But elsewhere, dissatisfied but apathetic flight attendants are voting out old unions in favor of new independent unions without any real chance of improving their lot. The snowball started in March when TWA attendants voted out the TWU. Then on May 3, 58 percent of American Airlines attendants voted to become independent. Within weeks there will be votes at Pan Am and Eastern, with similar results expected.

In the case of Pan Am attendants share a local with mechanics, commissary workers and cleaners. Many are susceptible to the company line that they are professionals and should be independent. Not understanding the role of the union and having been badly treated by it, they also tend

to blame the union for deteriorating working conditions. Many even feel sorry for the company, which has been in financial straits—a sentiment exploited by the company in yearly seminars outlining its financial woes.

The TWU must also bear the blame. Run by men who denigrate "the girls," the union hierarchy threatened to expel union members who participated in SFWR, comparing it to the Communist party of the 1950s.

But in a situation like that at Pan Am, independence can only lead to further deterioration of conditions. The union contract expires in the fall. With virtually no money, organization or experience, any strike called by the new union would quickly fail. Indeed, no strike in the airline industry has ever been won without the support of an international union.

Some of us are trying to point out dangers in becoming independent, and the TWU hierarchy is making belated attempts to right past wrongs, but it is probably too late.

Cindy Hounsell is a flight attendant for Pan Am airlines.

LABOR



California and S.D. fight over Dennis Banks

SAN FRANCISCO—A full-scale political and legal confrontation between two states is brewing over the extradition case of American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks.

South Dakota wants Banks returned for sentencing for a 1975 conviction on riot and assault charges. Banks, who recently resigned as a national director of AIM, claims he will be killed if he is sent back to South Dakota from California, where he has been a college instructor since last year. California Gov. Jerry Brown has indicated he is seriously investigating Banks' fears, but maintains he needs more time before making a decision.

On April 25, however, a California state appeals court—acting on a petition from South Dakota—ordered Brown to extradite Banks, an historic ruling without precedent in American law. Only once before, in 1861, did a state seek judicial intervention in an extradition case, but the court ruled against it. California plans to appeal.

South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow has assumed an extraordinary personal role in the extradition battle. Political observers in South Dakota believe Janklow is gearing up for the governor's race next year.

Janklow dismissed Banks' fears for his life as "nonsense." He has offered to personally pay the expenses for two official investigators from the West Coast to visit South Dakota's federal penitentiary in Sioux Falls to determine whether Banks would be in danger there.

As evidence of the danger to Banks' safety in South Dakota, his attorney Dennis Roberts cites a threat from Janklow: "There is only one way to stop the Indian problem here, and that's to put a gun at the AIM leader's head and put a bullet in it."

Janklow admits making the statement, but says he meant that only if AIM leaders "came around with their guns and threatened people...that I would see to it that they were shot."

Janklow's former assistant attorney general, Max Gors, is also quoted in court documents submitted in the case as saying, "We don't have an Indian problem in South Dakota. The only problem we have is Dennis Banks and Russell Means, and if we get rid of them, we get rid of the Indian problem... I'm calling for the extermination of the two of them."

As for Banks' safety, Janklow says, "I can't say yes or no categorically that he will be safe here. But he can't point to one actual time he was ever in danger here. It's all heresay and rumor."

Banks' supporters point out that there were 50 murders on Pine Ridge Reservation (pop. 13,000) in the three years following the Wounded Knee takeover.

Furthermore, Banks' lawyers have cited the case of Anna Mae Aquash, an AIM activist who was one of Banks' closest personal friends. While facing extradition in the fall of 1975, Aquash warned West Coast reporters she would be killed if returned to South Dakota. After her extradition she disappeared while awaiting trial and was found dead three months later in a remote section of Pine Ridge Reservation. She had been executed by a small calibre handgun held against her head. To date, no one has been arrested in the case.

While awaiting the outcome of his extradition battle, Banks is teaching college courses in Indian law and Native American religion and philosophy. He has also been prominent in attempts to revive Indian religious traditions and recently helped launch an Indian Survival School for children in Oakland.

—David Weir

Pacific News Service

David Weir covered the American Indian Movement as a staff writer for Rolling Stone magazine.

At the heart of Arizona labor

By Sam Kushner

PHOENIX—Several thousand Arizona trade unionists have been anxiously waiting for I.W. Abel to respond to his mail.

Abel, president of the Steelworkers Union, is scheduled to retire this summer and has announced that he intends to move to the posh Sun City development just outside of Phoenix. For more than seven months, however, construction workers, members of Local 383 of the Laborers union, have been on strike against the developers who are constructing Sun City.

Over three months ago Bill Soltero, business manager and secretary/treasurer of Local 383, called on the president of the largest industrial union in the AFL-CIO to correct the harm he had done to the striking workers and to publicly give up his future residence in Sun City.

So far there has been no response from Abel, and the Laborers union, one of the largest and most powerful in Arizona, is urging unions throughout the country to communicate with Abel and urge him to give up his scab-produced retirement home.

New management recently took over at Sun City, Soltero explains, and it decided to operate on a non-union basis. Under the old union agreement construction workers were earning \$7.13 an hour. Now scabs reportedly are paid about \$4.

"But the strike has been a costly one for those who took over the operation," Soltero says. "They are eight and one half months behind in home deliveries. We used to put up eight houses a day, now they get about three and one half each day. And the houses they do finish need repairs immediately."

One battle among many.

For Local 383, this battle is but one of many. In the past five years only one contract with an employer has been renewed without a strike—all at a time when there is a "depression in construction," with 3,300 of the local's 9,000 members laid off.

The local's jurisdiction is immense, four-fifths of the state of Arizona. About 70 percent of the members are in the construction trades with the rest in miscellaneous industries, including hospital workers, golf course employees and maids at a number of locations. The philosophy of the local, according to its top official, is "anybody who wants to be organized should be organized."

About one-fifth of the membership is

Arizona Laborers Local 383, covering fourth-fifths of the state, remains a center of progress in a tough area.

Anglo. The rest are native Americans, blacks and Chicanos, who make up the majority of membership. Local 383 officials point out that there are more native Americans in their union than in all the rest of the Arizona labor movement. One of the local's business agents is black and another is Navajo.

For many years Local 383 refused to affiliate with the AFL-CIO Building Trades Council in Arizona. "We disagreed with their lily-white policy," Soltero explains. But all of that is turning around these days. Local 383 has just affiliated with the Building Trades Council and according to Soltero, "for the first time we have a truly American union, one that includes workers of all colors and races."

An open office.

The Laborers union building—a full square block at Fifth and Adams—is the hub of the labor movement here. In it are the offices of the United Auto Workers, the Rubber Workers, the Upholsters Union and the United Farm Workers. Many of them are there rent free and the Local 383 office staff services their phones. There is the main organizing office of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers union, which is in the process of organizing hotel workers in this city. There is also an office for the Arizona Center for Law in the Public Interest.

In opening its offices and facilities to unions and public interest organizations, Local 383 is out "to help those who help people who are being abused." Sometimes helping others creates some conflict for Soltero and his fellow officials. While Local 383 favored an initiative for the construction of a nuclear site on traditional building trades grounds that it would create more jobs, the Center for Law in the Public Interest opposed it.

Much of the guiding spirit for Local 383 comes from far off California, from Cesar Chavez and the UFW. When the UFW was faced with a savage attack from the Teamsters union in the Coachella Valley in 1973 Soltero and virtually his entire staff moved to that valley to help the embattled campesinos. Dominating Soltero's office is a huge black eagle flag with the names of hundreds of farm workers in-

scribed on it. "I disagree with anyone who doesn't believe that Cesar Chavez is the leader of the farmworkers," Soltero says grimly. He will make no alliance, he emphasizes, with anyone, in or out of the labor movement, who takes part in weakening the UFW.

He says he even changed some of his opinions about AFL-CIO president George Meany after \$1.6 million was voted by the AFL-CIO Executive Council for the farmworkers in 1973. That action, Soltero says, "made me feel that the old son of a gun couldn't be all bad." Nowadays his feelings about Meany are "mixed."

Better days ahead.

Looking back at the last eight years with Republican domination of the White House and the last 12 years with the G.O.P. controlling the state house Soltero muses: "Sometimes I wake up in the middle of the night and wonder how we have been able to exist in the state of Arizona."

National Labor Relations Board decisions have been consistently bad, he recalls. Since the first of the year, perhaps because of the election of Jimmy Carter, he says there seem to have been some changes for the better in the NLRB.

Democratic Gov. Raul Castro comes to the Local 383 union building to address the membership. Soltero is on close terms with the new governor. Castro's staffing of the unemployment compensation and workmen's compensation offices with people who are not anti-labor has scored major points with Soltero and others in the labor movement. While there are other Chicanos, including some of Soltero's fellow officers in Local 383, who are highly critical of the new Democratic governor, considering him at best a conservative Democrat, Soltero stands firm in his support of him. "It's not because he is a Mexican," he insists.

However Soltero is very proud of the fact that there is a Mexican governor, and that there are many city and county officials of Mexican extraction now in office. He recalls earlier days when the Chicano was virtually shut out from all political life in the state.

Through it all one gets the impression that this union remains a multi-national militant organization that is apparently looking forward to some better days. In Arizona it is a center of progress.

Sam Kushner is author of *Long Road to Delano* and a reporter in the Southwest.

ELECTIONS

Two activist campaigns in Los Angeles



By Dave Lindorff
LOS ANGELES—May 31 could be the beginning of a new era for alternative politics in this capitol of "law and order."

On that day, voters may send community activist Ruth Yannatta to the state Assembly in a special election on the Westside, and install socialist Peace and Freedom party member Jim Stanbury in the Los Angeles City Council in a runoff election against council president John Gibson.

While the nearness to victory of these two candidates has surprised left-leaning voters and frightened the establishment forces, both candidates have been developing bases for their separate campaigns for several years as community organizers.

Yannatta, a supporter of the Campaign for Economic Democracy (CED), which grew out of Tom Hayden's campaign last year for the Democratic Senate nomination, has spent several years leading consumer fights against corporate food policy—a role that won her an appointment by Gov. Edmund Brown Jr. as assistant director of the state Consumer Affairs Department in charge of the Southern California office. She helped launch the 1973 nationwide meat boycott, has fought utility rate increases, helped place "public members" on state agricultural marketing boards and promoted the causes of tenants, seniors and the United Farm Workers.

When 44th Assembly District representative Alan Sieroty left his seat to become a state senator it was only natural that Yannatta would try to replace him. She entered early and hard, and by the time the establishment forces had settled more or less on Mel Levine, a former aid to ex-Senator John Tunney, she had become, in most people's minds, the front runner.

Taking a lesson from Hayden's campaign last year, she and her supporters in this largely liberal middle-class district (which voted for Hayden) have conducted a high-visibility campaign. They expect to spend \$75,000 on the race—a re-

spectable amount for this kind of office—and to make heavy use of door-to-door canvassing by volunteers, many of whom are coming from CED and other groups.

Stanbury helped by explosion.

Stanbury, a young political science professor at Harbor College in the South Bay harbor area of Los Angeles, is taking a different approach. A veteran of the civil rights and anti-war movements, he has had his eye on Gibson's city council seat for over a year.

Stanbury's chance came suddenly—one could say explosively. He was a leading spokesman in a lagging community battle to block development of a dangerous liquified natural gas terminal in the populated Los Angeles Harbor. At a city council vote to go ahead with plans for the terminal last Dec. 16 Gibson referred to Stanbury and other opponents of the plan as "sissies." He said that "the question is not safety, it is the economy," and voted for the project.

The next day the tanker *Sansinena*, unloading crude oil in the harbor, blew up and took Gibson's hopes for an easy reelection along with it. Stanbury suddenly became more than a "fringe" candidate.

While Gibson did a quick about-face and voted to shelve the LNG issue until after the April 5 election, he had hurt himself, particularly among wealthy liberals whose homes ring the harbor.

Stanbury attributes his surprise showing in that first election to the *Sansinena*. In a field of five he took 22 percent of the vote, and together with a group of minor candidates forced Gibson, who got only 48 percent, into a runoff against himself.

It was a shock for the 74-year-old City Hall veteran. (A shock for his colleagues too, who voted unanimously to send him a letter wishing him victory). In an embarrassing moment they voted to delay the decision on the LNG terminal even longer, past the runoff election.

Hopelessly outfunded, thanks in part

to donations to Gibson by Pacific Gas & Electric, the company seeking the LNG terminal, Stanbury has resorted to an unusual strategy. He's working for a low voter turnout.

"We're hoping it will be small," he told *IN THESE TIMES* candidly, "because a large turnout would mean a big machine vote for Gibson. What we are trying to do is just hit every single person who voted in the primary. If we can get all those people who voted for us before, pick up most of those who voted for the other candidates in the primary and skim off some of Gibson's votes, we could win."

To help things a little he and about 100 volunteers are also canvassing scientifically selected precincts where they know they have strong support—in working-class neighborhoods and the wealthy belt near the harbor. He's a definite underdog but his strategy could work, say some observers.

Yannatta's populist campaign.

The Yannatta campaign has taken a populist approach, focusing on the major concerns of the electorate.

Yannatta believes she has a stronger base than Hayden had in his campaign or than Stanbury currently has. "I've been working a long time with a lot of people who are generally apolitical," she says. "I even have some businesspeople supporting me. That's partly why I don't like to get involved in a lot of philosophical discussion."

While this relatively broad base has helped her become a front runner and has won her some support from liberal elected officials like state Senator David Roberti, it has caused her to soft-pedal the more radical side of her program.

Like Hayden, she has endorsed the term "economic democracy." But pressed to define it, she replies, "I'm talking about the relationship between the market and the consumer—about the role of corporations, and how they influence decisions. About the needs for more public representation on regulatory bodies..."

Like Hayden also, the word "socialism" eludes her, as do concepts like workers' control over their factories, or even, it seems, state-owned utilities. "I refuse to get into anything more philosophical," she explains. "I don't feel comfortable doing it myself."

Socialism and libertarianism.

Stanbury, too, on the stump, has occasionally shied away from the term, but his book/platform, *The California 200 Campaign*, is dedicated to Norman Thomas.

Gibson canvassers are reportedly passing the word to homeowners that Stanbury is a communist. While Gibson has thus far avoided putting that in print, his campaign brochures paint the Peace and Freedom party in the most radical light, and the word "socialist" peppers Gibson literature about Stanbury.

"I don't know what effect that's going to have," Stanbury says. "I suspect it

will hurt in the wealthier areas."

His public explanation of his philosophy is that he supports "the best of socialism and the best of libertarianism." That is probably a rough approximation of the Peace and Freedom party position.

"Where socialism is right on," Stanbury says, "is in the realization that all of the earth's resources and the means of production are the common property of all of us. Just as we could not let someone corner the market on the air we breathe, we can't let them do it with water, fuel, food or anything else."

He adds, "Where socialism has been off and really wrong is in its view that bureaucratic institutions are the way to effect that democratic control over the means of production. True socialism should mean less government, and an emphasis on personal liberties and loving nonviolence."

This combining of two often antagonistic philosophies, socialism and libertarianism, has made Stanbury something of an enigma to Gibson, the voters and observers on the left.

While he pretty much claims the socialist label, he opposes certain positions which are typically backed by the left, including members of his own party, such as busing to achieve desegregation (a hot issue these days in Los Angeles), closed shop laws that require all workers in a union shop to join, and higher taxes for business.

His open shop position has cost him any chance of an AFL-CIO endorsement, though he is an officer in his American Federation of Teachers (AFT) local. On the mandatory busing issue, he says, "I feel you can get equal education opportunity and integration without forcing it and dividing the community." His tax stand is simple. "You can tax the wealth of the owners all you like, but taxes on their businesses are simply passed on to the consumer."

"I think a lot of people are perplexed by some of my positions," he says with a laugh, "I really don't know whether that means I'll get more support or lose it all."

The major difference between the two L.A.-area progressive candidates, of course, is their party affiliation. Yannatta is a registered Democrat. She endorses the argument that the Democratic party, for better or worse, is the party of working people and as such is the place organizing must begin.

Stanbury disagrees. He feels he would not have won hands down with a Democratic label, but says he prefers not to have it. "It's time to break out of the old alignments," he says. "I'm convinced that reform candidates who run as Democrats lose much of their independence after they are elected. As a reform Democrat you have no real moorings, and it's too easy to drift into anything. To accomplish anything reformers have got to burn their bridges. Even if it's harder, if I do get elected, I'll have my political independence."



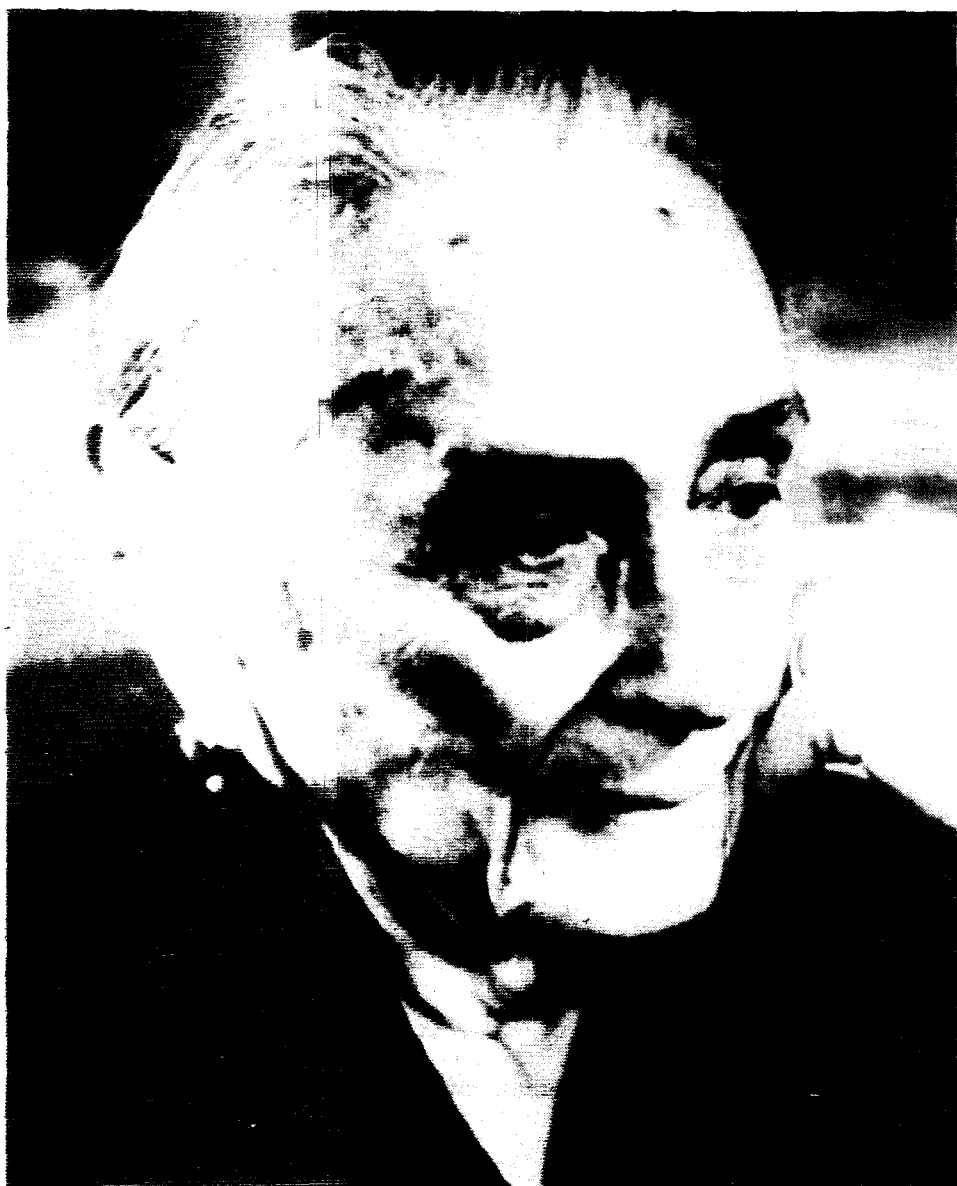
Ruth Yannatta has been an active supporter of the Campaign for Economic Democracy.

Michael Dobu

IN THE WORLD

SPAIN

From the foxhole to the polls



Dolores Ibarruri, *La Pasionaria*, returned to Spain early this month after nearly 40 years of exile in Moscow. Now 82 and President of the Spanish Communist party, she earned her nom de guerre for her impassioned speeches during the Civil War.

By E. Guerrero Rojo

The pace of diplomacy between the U.S. and Spain has quickened lately: first, Prime Minister Adolfo Suarez in Washington, and then Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Vice President Walter Mondale in Madrid. All parties are working hard to create the aura of a new era. On his recent visit to Washington Suarez must have been pleased by President Jimmy Carter's glowing comment that "the move toward freedom and democracy [in your country] has been brilliant and much better than we had hoped."

The April legalization of the Spanish Communist party fits neatly into the "democratization" of Spain's political life. It expressed the Suarez regime's confidence that the "break" from Francoism would occur peacefully, with the left's consent.

But legalization was also an extremely important victory for the Communist party. Proscribed from political life for nearly 40 years, forced underground since the end of the Civil War, and having traveled the difficult paths of exile, the party had nevertheless created a wide following. Needing as many forces as possible to legitimize the movement toward reform during this crucial transition period, the Suarez government could not ignore the party's strength.

Especially among workers and their families in the labor unions and neighborhood organizations, but also among urban professionals and students, the party's role is widely acknowledged. Last year the party surfaced and openly began a massive distribution of membership cards throughout the country. In July 1976 the party set a target of 300,000 members by this coming summer. It has now well over

100,000 and expects to bolster its membership through the election campaign.

Shift from guerilla war.

With well over a million members during the Civil War, the party saw its rank and file decimated after the military defeat of the Republic. After 1939 the party settled in for a long guerilla war to reestablish the Republic. But by the late '40s it had become apparent that this strategy had failed.

The guerillas had not significantly expanded their following. Under Franco's leadership the fascist state had won long-sought recognition from the other capitalist powers. Spain was finally admitted to the UN. And massive American economic and military aid was begun in exchange for American airbases on Spanish soil.

The party shifted its emphasis in the '50s to creating a coalition around the idea of "national reconciliation"—healing the wounds of the Civil War, and "letting bygones be bygones." It called for a total amnesty and attempted to rally all anti-fascist and democratic forces, including Catholics, Christian Democrats and, later, Monarchists. While creating "workers' commissions" to serve as the germ of an independent non-sectarian labor movement, the party also worked within the vertical fascist trade union structure.

In the mid-'60s this strategy was further developed with the publication of Secretary General Santiago Carrillo's "New Perspectives." Carrillo argued that the party should identify the struggle for democracy with the struggle for socialism.

The party now sees the reconquest of democracy as its main priority and, while

not ruling out other alternatives, envisages a democratic road to socialism through the electoral process. According to this perspective, socialism will come through the gradual passage of capitalist property to social property.

The last plenum of the party's central committee, held in Rome last July, also called for a more open and mass organization that would allow greater internal democracy. The party recognized three kinds of members—"militants," "activists," and "adherents." While being sympathetic, adherents need not agree 100 percent with the party's program nor devote full time to the party's activities.

The right still feared.

With the June 15 parliamentary elections in sight, the party has oriented its strategy to appealing to the broad non-Communist, non-Socialist electorate and to defusing the threat of the traditional right. The party recognizes that many high-ranking military leaders and technocrats from the Franco era opposed its legalization, and fears a revival of the right that could lead Spain back to the reactionary policies of the previous period.

During the campaign a high-ranking party official, Manuel Azcarate, warned militants against "direza conceptual" (conceptual hardness). The mobilization of neighborhood organizations and citizens' commissions has been largely de-emphasized. Fearful of the tensions that might be aroused, the party cancelled the celebration of its legalization and advised against victory demonstrations when *La Pasionaria*, Dolores Ibarruri, returned from Moscow last week. The party has even given cautious support to some of Suarez's policies, arguing that the best that can be hoped for at this time is the emergence of a "center-left" majority in the coming elections.

The party leadership's guarded support for Suarez's reforms has already caused some deep concern within the party's "left" that the Executive Committee was moving the organization too fast toward the political center. This is a thorny problem that the party leadership must fully take into account if it is not to alienate the largely young, active and left-oriented party base, which has viewed with apprehension the French party's abandonment of the doctrine of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," and what they see as the Italian Communist party's "over-emphasis" on Eurocommunism.

To date the Spanish party has not pronounced itself openly on the question of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" although it is clearly leaning in the direction of the French Communist party. In a report presented to the Rome plenum, Carrillo said "Our essential goal is to arrive at a society without exploited or exploiters, and in which the hegemonic force is not the monopolistic oligarchy, but becomes instead the alliance of the forces of work and of culture, with the working class as its fundamental cornerstone."

In addition, the party has been in the international forefront of efforts to steer clear of the policies of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. To some party members this represents an abandonment of "proletarian internationalism." But to others, it is necessary if the party is to assert an independent status and improve its image as a force of democracy among Spanish independent voters.

Election chances limited.

The party is already running a vigorous electoral campaign even though it knows that its chances are extremely limited. It is generally conceded that the Communist vote in the parliamentary elections will

probably not exceed 8 to 10 percent while it may go as low as 5. To make the very best possible use of its votes, the party must rely on its traditional areas of strength to elect some "sure" representatives: Madrid, Asturias, Seville and Catalonia. For example, both *La Pasionaria* and Carrillo are expected to head a party slate in Asturias, a Communist stronghold.

Anything above 10 percent would have to be considered a major victory for the long prohibited party, particularly in view of the many liabilities and obstacles against it: an overwhelmingly unsympathetic if not outright hostile press, a governmental monopoly over the national radio and TV network, limited funds for campaigning, a public opinion conditioned by four decades of fascism that is deeply distrustful of Communist electoral participation, and Suarez's great personal popularity.

The neo-Francoite Popular Alliance, under Fraga Iribarne's leadership, has consistently opposed the party's legalization. Lately it has been bolstered by Carlos Arias Navarro, the former prime minister and a longtime Francoite stalwart.

To complicate matters further for the Spanish Communists, the possibility of abstentions on its "left" remains great if all political parties are not legalized by election time, and the government does not grant a full and unconditional amnesty to all political prisoners. Several Marxist parties that consider themselves to the left of the party are still banned. In the Basque provinces there is also a very real threat of abstentions if all existing parties in Euskadi are not legalized shortly. Since there will be no common lists of left parties, Communist party members emphasize that an abstention on their "left" or from nationalists might hurt the party's chances.

In addition, the movements for national autonomy view that party as "centralist" in spite of its oft-stated support for a federal republic with autonomous regions.

There will undoubtedly also be problems between the party and its socialist partners, led by Felipe Gonzalez's Socialist Workers party. The Socialist Workers party, which recently purged its Marxist left, is very similar in origin and political orientation to the Portuguese Socialist party. Like the Portuguese party, it was revived recently with substantial German and Swedish Social Democratic support.

Until now both parties have spearheaded the left coalition known as the Democratic Coordination, and both have participated prominently in the Negotiating Commission of the left in its deliberations with the government. It may well be, however, that the Socialists will now part ways temporarily with the Communists and be able to syphon off votes from their allies. Some progressive sectors of the left might well be tempted to vote Socialist out of moderation or expedience—not wanting to "waste" a vote on a party whose overall chances are slight.

Finally, there remains the intangible though extremely significant question of the Catholic church's attitude. Even though Christians have been openly courted by the Communist party and some have contributed heavily to the left opposition's efforts, the Church, as a body, has managed to stay clear of politics and has observed a rather consistent neutrality. Yet many Catholics, out of reflex and conviction, remain suspicious of the Communists and might vote against them even if not instructed to do so by the hierarchy.

E. Guerrero Rojo is a pen name for a specialist on Spanish affairs.

YUGOSLAVIA

Market socialism: the pragmatists vs. the collectivists

By Kenneth Zapp

Every Yugoslav is currently plagued by the wrong question from Western visitors: what will follow Tito's death? Post-Tito speculation escalated last fall when both Carter and Ford clumsily included Yugoslavia in their campaign rhetoric, and Tito's liver betrayed his 84 years and his Balkan enjoyment of spirits.

Now 85, Josip Broz Tito has resumed limited diplomatic travel and is said to have switched to fruit juice. Yugoslavs therefore face a question equally confusing for outsiders but rarely asked: which way will Yugoslavia move with Tito?

Since 1950, Yugoslavia has experimented with market socialism—competition among socially-owned factories. Its leaders have applied differing combinations of carrots and sticks trying to increase productivity and economic growth. But besides remarkable growth and workplace democracy, the new system has also produced unemployment, inflation and expanding income differences.

In the 1970s, the League of Communists (LCY) has tried to solve the problems of market socialism—by asserting itself more vigorously in governmental assemblies and by helping to promulgate reforms that give a greater role to social coordination and planning.

An independent path.

Yugoslavia epitomizes Balkan volatility and complexity. Her five major national groups (Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian, and Montenegrin) often reveal more hostility than the sloganized brotherhood. They can be unified, however—enough at least to have liberated the country from the Nazis (with little Allied support) and to have dissuaded the Red Army from invading in 1948 when Tito rejected Stalin's trade and policy demands.

Since then, Yugoslavia has developed an independent path. Excluded from the Cominform and NATO, her foreign policy has stressed non-alignment, non-intervention and vigorous support for Third World liberation movements. A socio-economic system called self-management was created with worker-elected councils setting policy in organizations with five or more people, and with market competition distributing economic incentives among enterprises.

But although the councils held legal authority over wages, investments, hiring, firing, work rules, selection (and removal) of director, and development of new products, they succumbed to market imperatives articulated by financial and technical managers. Any deviation from an expert's proposal that would slow down production would also decrease collective and individual income. The struggle for self-management was transformed into the struggle for the dinar.

The market incentives maximized economic growth and individual social differences. From 1947 to 1972, the GNP per capita increased 3.7 times. Over the same period income inequalities increased—geographically between the historically developed western republics and underdeveloped eastern areas, between the rapidly growing cities and the stagnating villages, between powerful and weak enterprises, and between the highly educated and unskilled workers.

Income differences led to conspicuous consumption, antagonism among national groups, spiraling inflation with balance of payments problems and cynicism among workers, especially the youth. Faltering faith in self-management processes de-

creased workers' participation and further strengthened the influence of the technocrats.

The issue of social differences split the LCY into two equally indignant groups. The growth-oriented members, considering themselves pragmatists, claimed that incentives were required to "achieve a higher level of productivity, promote efficiency, increase competitive power in the international division of labor, and achieve a higher degree of international economic stability."

Their opponents, the "collectivists," called for "associated labor to gain control over the laws of commodity production and for society consciously to guide market trends, thus diminishing the responsibility of adverse effects by the blind action of socio-economic relations."

Social coordination increased.

The LCY initially responded to the growing problems of market socialism with a series of stop-gap measures. When Croatian party leaders supported striking University of Zagreb students demanding that Croatian profits remain in their republic and not be used to develop Serbia, Tito led the purge of "nationalist sympathizers." In 1972 the Federal Assembly passed a new economic development program that gave Croatia and Serbia special treatment as "developed regions." Criticism from both the right and the left was met with new governmental restrictions.

By 1974, however, majority agreement had been reached in the Federal Assembly and in the neighborhood and workplace organizations for a new constitution that attempted to increase the social coordination of productive units. In this respect, it was a victory for the collectivists.

The new system uses Basic Organizations of Associated Labor (BOALs) as the building blocks. These workplace organizations of 100 to 500 workers agree among themselves about wages and investments. They also reach agreements with neighborhood organizations and with self-management interest communities in health, education, social security and science.

Unresolved disputes go to newly created self-management courts. For example, a court in Belgrade recently forced an enterprise to give a new flat to an aggrieved worker who claimed the self-management agreement on housing was violated to favor a party member lower on the waiting list.

Last fall a Law on Associated Labor added a new parallel planning process. Each year proposals will be generated by BOALs at the bottom and governmental agencies (federal, then republic) at the top. The BOAL plan—production, investment, employment, resource needs and income—is submitted upwards through the enterprise and then through the industry. The government plan is sent downward. Differences between the two plans will be resolved at the self-management and social conferences. The final plan, which becomes the first year of a revised five-year plan, will be most specific on infrastructure, capital intensive, and energy industries and least specific on consumer goods. The details of the plan will remain guidelines unless the BOAL delegates at the conferences decide to transform them into formal agreements.

The party's role.

In these decisions there is no pretense of



Last fall, speculation centered on Yugoslavia after Tito. But with Josef Broz Tito celebrating his 85th birthday this week, Yugoslavs face a question rarely asked by outsiders: which way will Yugoslavia move with Tito?

LCY neutrality. Though LCY officials are forbidden by law to hold government offices and workplace and neighborhood elections are relatively "democratic," the League has several means of influence. The trade union, the worker education arm of the LCY, and the LCY itself, are organized parallel to enterprise and government structures. Their members have no organized opposition in council, assembly, and voters meetings, and the LCY's priorities are well articulated. The trade union also enforces wage agreements and can veto enterprise directors chosen by the council. Furthermore, the 1974 Constitution expanded local and republic assemblies to include a third chamber consisting of delegates from the socio-political groups aligned with the LCY: the Socialist Alliance, trade union, youth organization and veterans clubs.

The direction of Yugoslavia with or without Tito depends on the effectiveness of the new structural changes to arrest problems of social differences, inflation and unemployment. Unemployment data are crude. Between one-half to one million Yugoslavs still work in Western Europe and domestic joblessness seems to be 4 to 5 percent. Inflation of 20 to 30 percent in 1973 was cut to about 10 percent last year by new price-control mechanisms. (A governmental commission at the federal, republic, or local level, depending on the product, evaluates requests for price increases on the basis of cost factors, the urgency of

consumer need, and an unknown amount of Balkan hustle.)

Economic stability and growth can protect even the awkward Yugoslav provisions for leadership succession after Tito. Eight people representing the six republics and two autonomous regions will constitute a collective presidency with one of them chosen as the president. Internal or external adventurism would be predicated on the weakness of this collectivity but the true Yugoslav strength or weakness lies with the people. If they are committed to the self-management system, no drastic changes will occur without a physical struggle.

Nothing would unite the Yugoslavs more than another invasion. The well equipped Yugoslav army is viewed as only the first line of defense with the citizenry prepared and trained to carry on the protracted battle. The federal government created the Peoples' Militia last year and distributed weapons throughout the country. In Belgrade last December Brezhnev publicly reiterated the Soviet Union's respect for Yugoslav independence but privately applied intense pressure on the Yugoslavs to accept Russian military bases. On this side of the ocean, Carter may not be above participating in a partition of Yugoslavia that would send Slovenia and Croatia to the west and leave the rest for Soviet supporters.

Kenneth Zapp teaches at Grand Valley State College in Michigan. He teaches in Yugoslavia each summer as director of that university's Workers' Management Program.

ITALY

Are Communists being led into a trap?

By Diana Johnstone

In mid-April, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) got bad news from Castellammare, an industrial town on the Bay of Naples. In city council elections, the Christian Democrats gained heavily, going from 33 percent in last June's parliamentary elections to 40 percent while the PCI fell back from 45 percent to 33 percent—a whopping loss of 12 percent. The PCI also lost ground in a number of small town municipal council elections, although by a smaller margin.

This puts the PCI in a bind. The Christian Democrats can cite the Castellammare results as well as the PCI's inability to control the labor base, as further reason not to accept the "historic compromise" of letting the PCI into a government coalition. And the PCI will be less inclined than ever to vote to bring down the minority government when that would mean fresh elections that might very well wipe out the gains the Communists made last year.

The April 17 municipal council elections may not indicate a national trend—in the provincial council elections the same day in Rovigo, in the Veneto region, the PCI made gains—but the electoral setback was the first in years, and is likely to be widely interpreted as the sign of a trend.

The predictable, indeed predicted, way things are going in Italy is disturbing. Chris Matthews wrote in the *International Herald Tribune* last Jan. 14 that there was no need for the U.S. to do anything to stop the Communists in Italy. "The Communists unaided are already doing a great job of minimizing their own influence in Italy," he observed. "For in their laudable efforts to be nice to Premier Giulio Andreotti, Pope Paul, Jimmy Carter, anyone in fact who can get them a step nearer that always receding mirage of the historic compromise, the Communists are getting badly out of step with the more than 12 million Italians who voted for them last June."

Trilateral Commission member George Ball made a similar prediction prior to the June 1976 elections. He argued that there was no need for American officials to make dire threats to keep the PCI out of the Italian government. Economic pressures (especially from West Germany) would be enough to create a situation in which the PCI's efforts to be "responsible" would inevitably bring it into conflict with its base.

In this scenario, everyone is acting on cue, including at least some of the far left, whose denunciations of the PCI sellout are part of the script.

Radical pessimists.

A sizable sector of the Italian far left, including Lotta Continua and the "Autonomy" movement, has been so convinced that the "historic compromise" was bound to succeed—because it provided capitalism the only solution to its crisis—that its militants have been behaving as if the PCI were already in power. The most violent of the far left groups in Italy are not trying to precipitate revolution, as did the 19th century Blanquistes. On the contrary, they are acting out of a most radical pessimism.

They assume that the PCI and the trade unions will play the role of Northern European Social Democrats in a corporate state along West German lines or that a fascist military dictatorship will take over. In either case, these radical pessimists foresee a long period of police state dictatorship, and fancy their task as organizing the first kernels of an eventually spreading popular armed resistance movement. This is the outlook of such urban guerilla groups as the "Red Brigades," which much of the left suspects are manipulated by rightist extremists, who use them as an element in the "strategy of tension."

The main carrier of radical pessimism within the working class movement and



Rome police search members of ultraleft "autonomous collectives" during the May Day demonstrations, where they clashed with Roman trade unionists.

Photo by UPI

the main parent of the "Autonomy" movement has probably been Lotta Continua (Constant Struggle), founded in 1969 by a fusion of student and worker local organizations. It claimed some 10,000 militants until it took its spontaneism to its logical conclusions last fall and "dissolved itself into the movement."

For seven years Lotta Continua displayed considerable tactical resourcefulness in organizing around specific issues, along with a total lack of strategic intelligence. This combination is characteristic of a certain number of "Maoist" movements of the 1960s, whose militants functioned quite well on the basis of a revolutionary hope nourished not by any analysis but by triumphalist myths and by mimicry of the (supposedly) dedicated lifestyles of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutionaries. Such movements tended to adopt a populist, anti-intellectual style that kept their leaders sheltered from any critical analysis of their strategic notions.

Living with the earthquake.

The results of the June 1976 elections, in which the left in general and the revolutionary left in particular (with only 1.5 percent of the vote) did much worse than its leaders had predicted, threw Lotta Continua into a serious crisis. The steadily rising movement had not risen as much as they had thought, the general offensive of the masses was much farther off than anticipated, the struggle was not only constant, it began to look eternal.

This led part of its membership, especially the women, to undertake a radical criticism of militant practice: if they were going to have to go on living like this for many years, some things would have to be changed. Rebellion had been growing among the women of Lotta since the organization's men attacked a women's demonstration in Rome in December 1975 to drag them, in the name of proletarian solidarity, out of the company of bourgeois feminists."

Some women say that Adriano Sofri de-

cided to dissolve the organization as a final way to avoid the self-criticism demanded by the feminists.

Sofri and the leadership group, with no clear strategy to offer and having grossly misjudged the political situation, avoided serious political criticism from their own rank-and-file by declaring an end to the discussion without solution. Sofri maintained that since collaboration between the PCI and the Christian Democrats was now the basis of a durable status quo, there were no more "political contradictions" but only "social contradictions," which militants should sound out by throwing themselves into the mass movement, from which they would eventually rebuild the organization along the lines indicated by the new struggles that were sure to arise. It was necessary to learn to "live with the earthquake," he said.

Since a lot of militants were leaving the organization anyway, it is hard to tell how many did so on Sofri's instruction.

No historic compromise.

Other sectors of the Italian far left, notably the Manifesto group that came out of the PCI and knows it well, is convinced that the "historic compromise" is an erroneous strategy and that the event will never take place.

Among the arguments variously advanced to support this analysis are the following:

1. The subjective commitment of the PCI—as of the French Communist party—to socialism, or at least to the interests of the working class, is much greater than is assumed by some of its leftist critics. For all their seemingly unlimited readiness to compromise, the "reformist" Communist parties derive their internal strength and cohesiveness from a traditional Marxist working-class culture that they cannot repudiate without falling apart and that makes them permanently "subversive" elements within a capitalist order.

2. The leading forces of the capitalist world do not seem, for their part, to consider the Communist parties the equivalent of Social Democrats and show no serious sign of willingness to use them, in countries where they are strong, to integrate the working classes into the capitalist system.

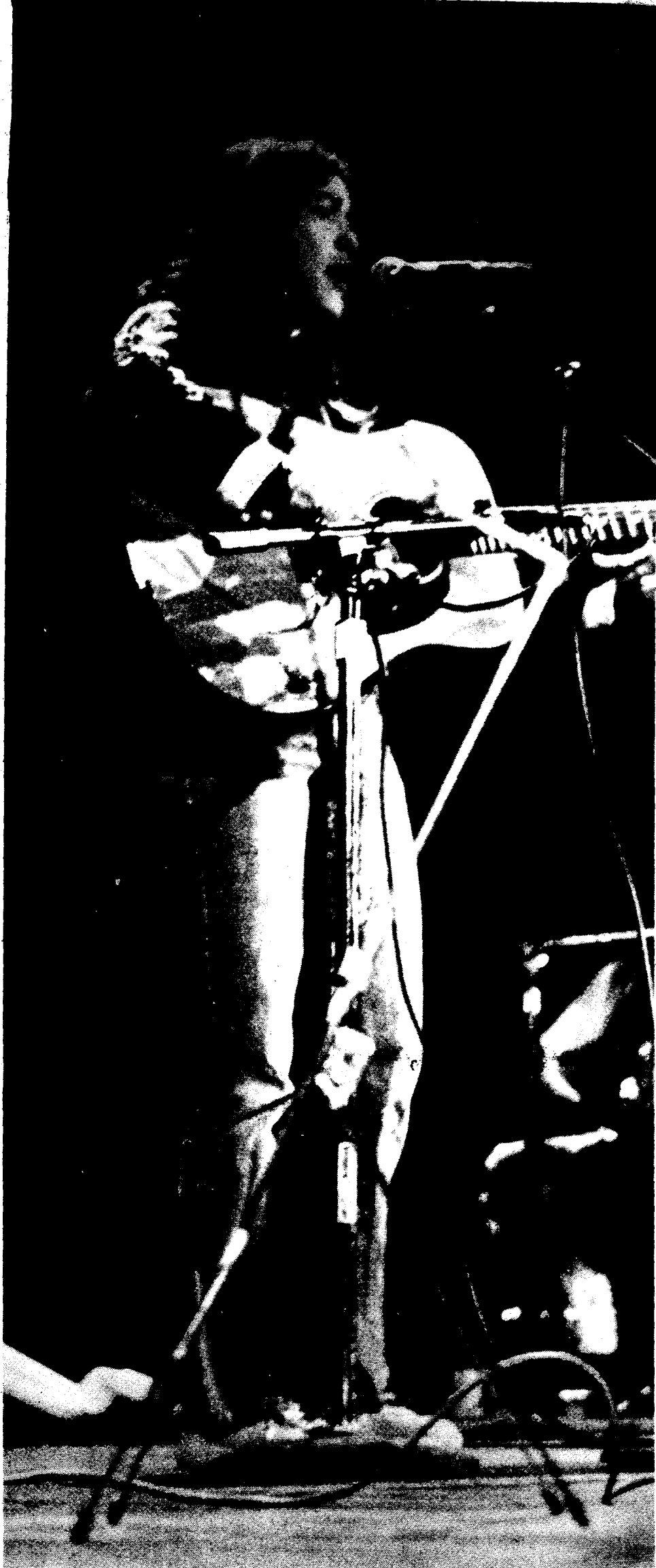
3. There are signs that the nature of the present economic crisis does not allow the integrationist solution in Southern Europe. This is not because such a solution is intrinsically impossible either politically or economically, but because what is called the "crisis" is in reality an *economic war* launched by the dominant sectors of American capitalism, intended in part to break the hold of the Communist parties on the working classes of France and Italy.

The world economy is to be organized around the "energy crisis"—portrayed as a natural catastrophe, although planned by the oil companies (and banks) that own virtually all energy sources. The international division of labor will be altered so as to break up the social blocks that provide the political base for the traditional Marxist parties.

This analysis has gone along with a more optimistic attitude towards the possibilities of socialist revolution, hope being based on the prospect that the PCI will realize it is being led into a trap, change its strategy, and move leftwards in coalition with the Socialists and the revolutionaries...although here the picture gets a bit hazy.

In practice, this outlook has recently led the Manifesto group to do little other than persuade some Communists that they are on the wrong course. Not having developed an organizational strategy of their own, they now have little practical alternative to offer to the disaffection that is showing up, not in the PCI leadership, but at the base.

Diana Johnstone is a journalist in Paris and publishes a newsletter called Owl.



Cris Williamson

T.J. Osnick



Berkeley Women's Music Collective

The new feminist

Women's music is still in its early stages, exploring. It says things pamphlets and speeches can't, she

There is a new musical genre emerging out of the last decade of feminist struggles and awareness. The new women's music ranges from the hard-rock political messages of Bev Grant to the lilting musical synthesis of Cris Williamson; from Hazel and Alice's twanging Appalachian-country guitars to Kay Gardner's sensuous, classical-style flute, to musicians like Holly Near who defy musical classification but come nearest to the folk tradition.

This feminist music flowers outside the established record and concert circuit. Small record companies cut the records; feminist publications and bookstores sell them; and women's groups and an emerging network of women producers put on the concerts. The musicians play at each other's shows and on each other's records. They play at demonstrations and benefits, and give workshops at movement conferences. Once a year they meet in Champaign-Urbana, Ill., for the annual women's music festival.

In the questioning of old values and cultural ferment created by the women's movement, these women have developed different politics and goals, yet all have been shaped by, and continue to shape, the movement. Their music opens new realms of experience previously unexamined in popular music or examined only from a male viewpoint.

The right to fight.

Rape has been glorified in hard rock, depicted as tragedy in folk music. Bev Grant's song to Inez Garcia, who killed a man who helped rape her, expresses a new attitude: "Women got the right to fight." Dierdre McCalla, a black feminist singer from Nebraska also sings of a woman who kills her rapist:

*No, judge your honor,
No, I did not want to kill that boy.
But he would not listen to me, can't you see,
I could not take him on me any more.*

Willie Tyson, in "Merciful Mary" has a woman charging rape of her soul before the Supreme Court. Not surprisingly, the case is thrown out, leaving Mary less merciful and wiser.

"Don't Put Her Down, You Helped Put Her There," sung by Hazel and Alice, describes a favorite country music subject, the "honky-tonk angel" of the bar—this time from the woman's side.

These singers also break the silence on many unsung aspects of woman's existence: "Ain't no time for sad desperation" sings Deborah Lempke of Berkeley Women's Music Collective in a song about menstruation as a joyful, rather than painful or shameful experience.

The inner lives of women are shared in songs like Margie Adams' "Lost in Inner Space" and Meg Christian's "Scars."

Cris Williamson's beautiful "Waterfall" talks about the flow of life in women's rhythm:

*When you open up your life to the living
All things come spilling in on you
And you're flowing like a river,
The Changer and the Changed...*

Songs full of anger frequently become audience favorites. "One time we wrote a vicious song," says one of the members of The Deadly Nightshade. In "Dance, Mr. Big" a former secretary takes revenge when her ex-boss comes looking for a job, asking, among other things, to see his legs.

Margie Adams sings, in "Fury":
*The waves of hate crash over me
And wash me clean of fear,
The ocean of my anger swells
To cover all who hear...*

Songs of struggle.

"Women's music is political, but so is what we're getting on AM radio. That tells us how we should relate to each other and the world," says Adam.

Some songs directly reflect political struggles. For instance, Bev Grant wrote "Together We Can Move Mountains" based on a statement by a woman in a tenants' strike. "I like songs that grow out of struggle. They can really move people," says Grant.

Bonnie Lockhart of Berkeley Women's Music Collective sings "Still Ain't Satisfied" about the gains of the women's movement and the need to keep fighting.

Holly Near, who wrote powerful anti-war songs in the early '70s, continued with themes like Wounded Knee and women in prison. One of her most popular songs is about freedom fighters throughout the world, including Chilean singer Victor Jara, the students who died at Kent and Jackson State and an anonymous Vietnamese woman:

*It could have been me
But instead it was you
And it may be me dear sisters and brothers
Before we are through...
But if you can die for freedom, I can too.*

New loves.

The American popular song has endless variations of romantic love themes. Women's music celebrates other loving relations. Friendship may be the subject, as when Ginni Clemmens sings:

*Life's a long and twisted road,
Many curves and unseen bends,
So I'm lookin' for some long-time friends.*

Or the songs may celebrate the sense of community created by women struggling together to liberate themselves. Cris Williamson's "Song of the Soul" and "Sister" kindle a celebration, as she and the audience sing together—

Lean on me, I am your sister



Willie Tyson

Jane Melnick

musicians

exploding.

as us things we didn't know we knew....

Believe on me, I am your friend...

Holly Near sings of "Nicolia," a young South American factory worker who

...found a book called "Organize" And she understood every word, to her surprise.

Musical solidarity follows as Near "organizes" the audience into three-part harmony on the chorus.

Many of the new songs describe a previously taboo music subject, lesbian love. Meg Christian's "Ode to a Gyn Teacher" is a funny, warm reminiscence of high school crushes that, as she says, "Everyone thinks are just a phase." In "I Know You Know" she explores the delicate relationship between a young lesbian and her mother. The mother knows, but cannot acknowledge openly, that her daughter's "women friends / Are filling my life with beginnings and ends."

Alix Dobkin, whose concerts are frankly pro-lesbian propaganda, sings of first lesbian love:

*Because she's a woman
Confusion hid my feelings
I tried to name it everything but love...*

Some songs explore lesbian problems, as when Willie Tyson sings, "You ain't never gonna be enough to hold that woman / You ain't never gonna be the one she deserves."

Berkeley Woman's Music Collective sings about the problem of being gay in a non-accepting society in "Janet's Song" and "Gay and Proud."

Innovation in style.

Lyrics are not the only innovation in women's music. "The chord structure, relation of melody to chords, the rhythmic changes are all different in a way that's hard to define, but you hear it," says Margie Adam.

Mary Watkins, a composer, pianist and arranger who works with Meg Christian and Holly Near, says, "It's hard to anticipate what's coming next when you listen to Cris Williamson or Meg Christian. The music is more gentle and flowing. Even when strong emotions like anger are expressed, it doesn't have the destructive quality of a lot of popular music."

Building a movement.

Some of the women are concerned that their music build a movement. "It's very important not just to talk about personal issues or even just the political issues of what it means to be a woman," says Jeanne Mackey, who sings:

*Don't shoot the shadow.
Don't be frightened by the ugly face
Of a system that keeps us fighting each other
Just because of sex or race.*

"It's important to link up the issues, to show some relationship between a black

child getting gunned down by a cop and a woman having a hard time with her husband," says Mackey.

Bev Grant sees herself as part of a working-class movement against capitalism. Though she began writing feminist songs, she now sees the struggle against economic oppression as primary. Like Mackey, she tries continually to make connections between women's issues and other struggles. She sings concerts in her neighborhood as part of community organizing and feels cultural workers need a "direction and strategy, so we're not just making all the decisions."

Holly Near hopes to find ways to connect the spirit and excitement generated at her concerts to the women's movement. Most of her concerts are put on by women's or other movement groups, with Near's fees based on her needs and the needs of the group. Occasionally, she does a benefit.

Near believes that "when someone writes and asks me for a picture and an autograph, she doesn't really want that. She's saying, 'I experienced something that felt good to me,' and wants to get back in touch with it. Eventually I hope to be able to put her in contact with a women's center or some group working in her community that will get her back in touch with that."

Other musicians stress more personal change. "A lot of things I sing about are real heavies to most people. The way they're treated like pieces of meat, the way they look, relationships. They become easier to relate to in a humorous vein. You can say, hey, there's something funny about it, and I don't have to let it mess my life up," says Willie Tyson.

"We need to speak enough different languages to make clear that the possibility of being a strong woman is there for all women," says Margie Adam. "My concerts say we have choices, we can be in control of our own lives."

Artist and audience.

Women's music attempts to change the traditional artist/audience relationship. Musicians avoid becoming stars. They frequently invite less established local musicians to play with them. Holly Near says, "One of the reasons my music's any good is because I as a person have been affected by the audience."

She and others talk with and involve the audience. They explain how they came to write the songs. Margie Adam believes it is crucial that she be in the audience after the performance. "Part of the myth separating artist from audience is that the artist has got it so together, is a finished product. I don't know anyone who's a finished product, certainly not me. You should be able to come up to me and say what you have to say."

There is controversy among women's musicians over all-women concerts. Some prefer all-women audiences; others say this limits the number of people who can be reached or amounts to reverse discrimination.

Susann Shanbaum of the Berkeley collective says, "Our music is very personal, about women's experience and feelings. With men in the room, I just don't want to sing some of the songs. I don't want them reacting to it. We need to be able to pass those things on to each other."

"It's essential to do concerts that are public and also those especially for women," says Margie Adam. "We need to reach out everywhere, but we also need to celebrate coming together and bonding as women."

Holly Near says she tries to plan the concert around the needs of the group putting it on and that there are times for both kinds of events. But she gets angry with those who oppose women-only concerts on the basis of reverse discrimination. "Women-only space is essential. It comes from a desperate need of women to get away from a male-identified world in order to create a new self-definition."

"In a women-only space you can bring the woman-identified part of you and experiment with what might replace the current dominant culture."

Sometimes, says Near, people feel uncomfortable at a concert entirely devoted to women. "Isn't it strange that people can't sit for two hours and listen to music focused on women? That just points out how male-dominated our culture is."

Both Jeanne Mackey and Bev Grant sing songs that relate sexism to men in the audience and feel it's important to reach both men and women.

Willie Tyson says, "We all grow up with feelings of inadequacy that aren't necessary. People who perpetrate those ideas, men specifically, need to listen to my lyrics that poke fun at things society has laid on us."

Invading the technical aspects.

Women's music frequently means women in roles usually reserved for men—writers, arrangers, promoters, operators of studios, sound systems and lights. The alternative network gives women space to build skills denied by a male-dominated music industry and culture.

"When I was learning jazz, the guys made a real religion out of ignoring me," says Mary Watkins. "Or else, I was considered fair game and expended a lot of energy keeping guys off. They couldn't understand that I wanted to do music."

The more she plays with Near, Christian and other musicians, "the more I broaden myself in terms of style. It's increased the possibilities of what I can do with my music."

"We're all just making it up," says Margie Adam. "Margot McPhedries, who is a sound mixer, started out in a coffeehouse with a couple of mikes and speakers. She learned. Today she does big concerts, and she knows the music. She's an artist in her own right."

"Women are invading all the technical aspects," says Thelma Norris, who distributes women's music and produces concerts in Chicago.

When she produces a concert, "it's important to be aware of what the artist experiences when she's here. In a very caring fashion, I try to prepare her for the audience. And in the audience the important people to me are the women. So there's tampons in the women's bathroom, and when I can afford it there will be childcare."

Norris and other women producers try to balance feminist values with a cut-throat business situation. The small record companies, too, have goals beyond the necessary survival as a business. "We want our work to encourage women toward concrete political involvement and work, as well as to provide vehicles for expression of our growing culture... We are extremely concerned with building a mass women's movement," says Olivia Records' statement of purpose.

The new music is still in its early stages, exploring, exploding. It says things pamphlets and speeches can't, shows us things we didn't know we knew. "People who do political work have to take culture very seriously," says Holly Near. The direction of women's music, like the movement it springs from, shapes and is shaped by, is not yet fixed.

—Judy MacLean

How to get the records

Cris Williamson, Meg Christian, Berkeley Women's Music Collective, Kay Gardner: Olivia Records, Box 70237, Los Angeles, CA 90070.

Willie Tyson: Women in Distribution, P.O. Box 8858, Washington, DC 20003

Margie Adam: Pleiades Records, P.O. Box D, Dixon, CA 95620

Holly Near: Redwood Records, 565 Doolin Canyon, Ukiah, CA 95482

Bev Grant: Paredon Records, Box 889, Brooklyn, NY 11202

Alix Dobkin: Women's Music Network, 215 W. 92nd St., New York, NY 10025

Ginni Clemmens: Open Door Records, 6403 N. Bell, Chicago, IL 60645

Jeanne Mackey: Ladyslipper Music, 910 Clarendon St., Durham, NC 27705



Dierdre McCulla



Jeanne Mackey



Meg Christian

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

IN THESE TIMES
AT SIX MONTHS

\$150,000



Growing pains and pleasures

Last week **IN THESE TIMES** passed its first milestone: six months of weekly publication. In that time we feel that we have accomplished a lot and learned a lot, though we still have a lot to accomplish and a lot to learn. We have made our share of mistakes and have been pleased with receiving criticism from an attentive readership. Our progress has been steady and substantial.

Our paid circulation has grown from nothing to almost 9,000 weekly (6,700 subscribers and about 2,000 newsstand and bookstore sales in 45 cities). We have a large and growing following among political and trade union activists, and a general readership in all parts of the country. We have an active group of supporters among "old" leftists, "new" leftists and people who have no previous experience in traditional left politics.

And, most important, our belief that socialism could be made a major issue of our time has been strengthened by the initial reaction of our readers, including those who have not been a part of the traditional left in the U.S.

It seems clear that if we continue on our present path we will achieve our first year goal of 10,000-15,000 subscribers, and that we will be able to reach a paid circulation of over 25,000 some time in our second year of publication.

Because we are an independent newspaper, unaffiliated with any organization, we can reach our goal only with the active

support and participation of readers who share our socialist political outlook.

Financial needs.

Our early subscribers, who were sent a fund appeal, know that the paper began publication with \$80,000 less than the \$200,000 that we knew we would lose during the first year of operation. We wrote then that we would need to raise the remaining \$80,000 to get through the first year of publication—that is, until mid-November. The response to that fund appeal was encouraging. Some 140 subscribers sent us over \$8,000, along with dozens of letters of encouragement, praise and criticism.

The results, though, made it clear that our haphazard approach to our financial problems would not do, and that we needed to confront our situation in a more systematic manner. We have begun to do just that.

Our plan is to raise all the money we will need for a full year of operation—from June 1, 1977, through May 31, 1978. That amount is \$150,000, which we plan to raise from some 270 individuals, broken down as follows: \$75,000 from 10 individuals investing \$5,000 or more; \$40,000 from 20 individuals investing from \$1,000 to \$5,000; \$20,000 from 40 individuals investing \$250 to \$1,000; and \$15,000 from 200 individuals giving from \$5 to \$250.

We need the money to survive, of

course. But the point of surviving is to increase our political effectiveness, which means both to increase our readership as rapidly as possible and to encourage our readers to be active in developing popular movements and in seeing to it that the paper is widely distributed within these movements.

Support groups.

So to help accomplish both goals—financial survival and increased political effectiveness—we are planning to organize support groups for the paper in 15 or more cities over the next several months.

We are seeking people to help organize such groups. At first, the activity of these groups will center around the fund raising, but wherever the need is felt these groups can engage in and sponsor other activities. We already have, for example an *ITT* support group in Albany, N.Y., that runs regular forums on current political questions. And we have support and discussion groups in the process of formation in New York, San Francisco and one or two other places.

Because in the long run we cannot count on advertising, or on a handful of wealthy individuals, or on a small corps of disciplined party members, we need the active support of our readers, particularly of those who share our understanding of the importance of the development of a popular movement for socialism in the U.S.

The "Appeal Army."

In the early 1900s in this country the *Appeal to Reason* achieved a paid weekly circulation of 762,000. It did so primarily through the organization of what it called "the Appeal Army," an organization of active readers/supporters that numbered 30,000 people at its height in 1914.

We have a way to go before we can boast of a similar accomplishment. But the principle of active reader support remains the key to our success. We expect a substantial proportion of our readers to be active in building a popular movement for socialism in the U.S., and to use the paper to that end. It is largely in this respect that we differentiate ourselves from most, if not all, other publications on the left.

We therefore urge you to help us, and yourself, in the following ways:

- Get in touch with us about organizing or participating in support groups.
- Help us promote subscriptions and get the paper placed in bookstores and on newsstands.
- Help in fund raising by giving money, sending names of people you think might want to invest in the paper, holding a fund raising party.
- Suggest story ideas, let us know about upcoming activities and events, suggest new writers.

We are on our way and with your help **IN THESE TIMES** will become a permanent force in American politics.

Letters

Write on!

Editor:

I heartily endorse your editorial in *ITT*, May 10. I hope you will continue to amplify and refine this theme, not only in reply to future comments by readers. Specifically, I believe you should make clear what you mean by a socialist electoral politics: building an independent political party, entering when appropriate socialist candidates in "major" party races, but not endorsing or working for "lesser of two evils" bourgeois candidates.

—Salvador Luria
Lexington, Mass.

Marschall off base

Editor:

I can understand why Dan Marschall looks happily on the declining influence of the building trades in the labor movement. And I agree with him that it would have been better for the AFL-CIO to have pressured Congress for legislation benefitting the entire working class (such as repeal of "right to work" laws, a higher minimum wage, national health insurance, etc.) rather than first pushing for the common site picketing law that would help only the building trades.

But Marschall is off base when he cites approvingly the view of some union official that common site picketing is "a phony issue for everyone except some fat cats in the building trades." No, the defeat of the law allowing construction unions to picket an entire building site in a dispute involving a single contractor was not just a defeat for the "old, tired, white, right-wing remnants of the labor movement."

I work as an engineer in a downtown office building under construction with a crew employed by the company that will manage the building when it is completed. We work side by side with carpenters, painters, fitters, and various other tradesmen employed by the dozen or more contractors or subcontractors on the job. We work together, eat together, share tools, and in the process a sense of solidarity tends to develop among us, since we're working for the same boss—the insurance company that put up the money.

But the way the law is now written we cannot appeal to this solidarity. If my union is forced out on strike, there will be policemen at the site to keep us from picketing or talking with any workers not employed by our particular employer.

Workers in most industries need special legislation that takes into consideration the special conditions existing in their industries. Teamsters, farm workers and coal miners have all fought for special laws to meet their needs. We in the building trades need common site picketing.

—Paul Mueller
I.U.D.E. Local 39
San Francisco

12 year old mothers

Editor:

In the article on sterilization abuse (*ITT*, May 10) it is hard to know in several cases just what Kathy Mallin is driving at.

In the opening incident two physicians are said to be brutally mistreating a pregnant Chicana either because they are sadists or because they are trying to induce a stillbirth. Are we to believe this is routine treatment in Los Angeles, called the third largest "Mexican city" (after Mexico City and Guadalajara)? Why then this particular case?

Then the case of the two sisters, 12 and 14, deemed "mentally incompetent." Are the ironic quotes meant to suggest that these girls were not or

THE FACTORY WITH RIFKA AND PATSUS



that such incompetency does not exist? Of course most people do recognize that such cases, unfortunately, do exist. What should be done in such cases? Are not 12-year-old mothers, their offspring, and their families very unfortunate regardless of their competency?

As to Puerto Rico, where 35 percent of all women of childbearing age are called victims of sterilization abuse, is it not possible that some chose sterilization?

—Wendell W. Norris
Cape Girardeau, Mo.

Is TVP natural?

Editor:

Your survey of natural food cookbooks (*ITT*, May 18) left out two of the greatest classics. *Natural Foods Cookbook* by Beatrice Trum Hunter (Pyramid, \$1.25) is a good basic set of recipes. *Let's Cook It Right* by Adele Davis (New American Library, \$1.95) is an all-time bestseller and shows how to get nutritious meals from supermarket ingredients.

Also, your review is misinformed about availability of ingredients. Tahini, bulgur wheat and sea salt are no longer "exotic"; there are natural food stores all over these days. On the other hand, TVP (textured vegetable protein) is not something you will find around the corner, and its status as a "natural" food is questionable.

—Patty Broccoli
Castroville, Calif.

Profoundly not helpful

Editor:

Your "Inside Story" (*ITT*, May 10) and cartoon on the defeat for Berkeley Citizen's Action set a new low in arm-chair quarterbacking. John Judis should either spend more time back in the Bay Area, or direct his pious commentary to Chicago politics.

If I read you correctly, Judis blames the Communist party and left "ideologues" for the electoral defeat. The left forces supposedly messed up the nominating convention, messed up the rent control bill, and messed up the campaign by not making enough concessions to local business and landlords. This in turn caused local business and landlords to become anxious, as they recruited nearly \$200,000 to defeat the coalition.

BCA's right and left factions are now picking up the pieces, trying once again to work out a successful organizing and electoral strategy. The relationship between the factions is a long and complicated one—symbiotic and dialectical at best, self-destructive at worst. The struggle is about building a powerful "center-left" coalition that is multi-

racial and cross-class. Despite the purges, walk-outs and huffs of the past, a lot of people on both sides of the coalition feel it's slowly taking form.

There is enough blame for the electoral defeat in April to reach all participants. For *ITT* quickly to champion the right in this struggle is both ignorant and profoundly not helpful.

As one of the authors of *The Cities' Wealth*, I strenuously object to being labeled "utopian." Read the book's conclusion. It's about conflict, not utopia. That's supposed to be good, remember? You certainly have turned into a funny bunch of "socialists."

—Thomas Brom
Berkeley

But he means well

Editor:

Though John Judis in his article on the Berkeley elections has accurately pinpointed some of the weaknesses in the Berkeley Citizen's Action strategy, he seems to overstate his case on two counts.

First, in talking about the split over Mark Allen, the Communist, Judis lines up with those who thought if the BCA supported Allen it would also have to defend the Communist party's history and policies. Is this so much more to ask of a "coalition" than defending the history and policies of the Democratic party, the political organization to which most BCA candidates belong? Also he neglects to mention that Mark Allen seemed to have his strongest support within the Coalition from the Third World Caucus, not anti-anti-communists. I understand that this support derives from his activity in the community, not his political affiliations. I think the insight into the divisive and weakening effect of the Rent Control issue was more the cause of the BCA's demise.

Second, Judis consigns the pamphlet, *The Cities' Wealth*, "to the library of utopian socialism" because it omits reassuring businesses that such changes as public ownership of the cities, utilities, banks, land and housing will be beneficial to them. I don't understand how such changes will benefit business. Public ownership and control make losers of business both in terms of profits and political control.

I know that Judis is serious in trying to facilitate the time when "socialism assumes its rightful place in American politics." It doesn't seem to me, however, that blurring the class nature of a socialist, or even an anti-corporate movement, helps.

—David Weintraub
Oakland, Calif.

Albany forum

Editor:

Enclosed is \$15 for a sub. I have been attending the *ITT* forums at the Friends' Meeting house here in Albany. From these forums and the paper, I have learned an incredible amount about the energy situation. I especially appreciate the articles on the Middle East.

I hope the enthusiasm of the readers I have met at the forums is reflected across the country.

—Tom Costello
Albany, N.Y.

New therapies

Editor:

ITT must not relegate the coverage of such important facets of modern society as "The New Therapies" to the jejune contribution of Eli Zaretsky (*ITT*, May 10).

Radical therapy rightly attempts to indict capitalist society for its splintering of social relations. However, it's political will too often confuses the analysis of individuals and families with analysis of society.

As I cannot do justice to a critique of the "New Therapies" the best contribution I can make is to urge *ITT*, Eli Zaretsky and all concerned with the plight of human relations to read Russell Jacoby's *Social Amnesia* (Beacon Press). It is a revelation. See especially Chapter VII in relation to "Disorder in the Family."

—Thomas F. Gorman
Baltimore

New Spanish union

Editor:

I was very interested in reading Alvah Bessie's observations on the current situation in Spain. Unfortunately, he neglected to mention the rise of the *Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo* (CNT), the anarchist/syndicalist labor union. On March 27, that organization held its first national open-air meeting since the Civil War. It was attended by over 30,000 delegates.

The CNT has been very active in organizing the construction and metal industries as well as other areas, and has sponsored a number of strikes. But these new events have been missed by most of the American left press.

—Dean Nolan
Chicago

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Paul Booth

Deinstitutionalizing the public health system: fiscal conservatism in new left clothes

A romance between fiscal conservatives and social reform do-gooders has led to the birth of a new movement for the "deinstitutionalization" of publicly-operated mental hospitals and other health and social service facilities.

The deinstitutionalization movement fueled by an enthusiasm of the '60s—the search for more humane means of social-problem-solving. Buttressed by an academic and new-left consensus that sees existing public institutions as "snake pits," "totalitarian," etc., the movement began as a drive for community health centers and halfway-houses for rehabilitation of juvenile offenders. These programs, launched under President Kennedy, grew up alongside existing systems. But as the "fiscal crisis" hit state governments in the mid-'60s, community-based programs began to be counterposed to state institutions and a forceful movement to close the latter developed.

In the case of mental hospitals, a harsh financial rationale lurked behind the oft-stated humanitarian motives. The present federal law provides funds for patients in private facilities but not for those in the public institution. The burgeoning Medicaid program could not be used for state hospital residents between 21 and 65. The federal 50-72 percent share of welfare payments is not available for wards of the state.

Finally, Supplemental Security Income, the welfare program for the aged, pays 100 percent of costs for residents of private board-and-care homes, but nothing for residents of public facilities. Little wonder that the states would seek to get their patients "out of their beds and into the streets." And waiting eagerly were

the fast-growing nursing home and halfway house industries. In less than 15 years, state mental hospitals have been cut back by 75 percent, nursing homes have grown by 1300 percent.

Without a reformist rationale, the profit-hungry beneficiaries of deinstitutionalization wouldn't have gotten far. Welfare professionals traditionally shunned profit-making in the social services, and only recently began to experiment with lucrative enterprises. Jerome Miller, the nation's most enthusiastic deinstitutionalizer, has filled a real need, first in Massachusetts, then in Illinois and currently in Pennsylvania. He has been candid about his purpose:

One of the great challenges to our society in the remainder of the 20th century is to dismantle state government agency and distribute the responsibility and financial resources to new mechanisms for the organization and delivery of human services. (From Miller's paper, "A Strategy for Youth in Trouble.")

Miller has applied his philosophy both to juvenile corrections and to child welfare, substituting contracts with profit-making halfway houses and group homes for state facilities.

In California desinstitutionalization was the program of the Reagan administration, whose plan, now sidetracked, was to close all mental hospitals by 1977 and retardation centers by 1981. As the state evicted its patients, thousands were left incapable of caring for themselves; the population of the mental hospitals

went from 55,000 in 1955 to 7,000 in 1973. One of those discharged was Charles Richard Soper, certified in May 1973 as no longer "presenting a danger to himself or others." Two weeks later he killed himself, his wife and three children with a .22. John Philip Bunyard, released in 1967, begged his social worker—"I don't want to go out there. I feel like a puppy you're putting on the freeway." Six years later he committed two murders, two rapes, and several kidnappings on a 500-mile chase through California. Newspaper morgues from coast to coast are now bulging with post mortems of cases like these or of the victims of criminal neglect in nursing homes.

In Illinois the mental hospitals do little to keep track of discharged patients or to track down those who walk away—after 30 days an AWOL patient is officially discharged. This looks good in the statistics, in which "discharged" implies "cured."

Psychotropic drugs play a large role in the deinstitutionalization movement in mental health, by taking the edge off dangerous behavior. Typically, the discharged mental patient is unconditionally released because his behavior is no longer dangerous to self or others. With a supply of pills and the address to get more—a community health center—the discharged adult re-enters society—often to go on welfare.

Others, who can't take care of themselves, enter nursing homes—900,000 as of 1974. Compared to under 400,000 mentally ill and retarded at state hospitals and schools, it is obvious that private nursing homes are the real locus of institutionalization.

Currently 77 percent of the country's nursing homes are privately owned and

operated for profit. The profit-motive doesn't square easily with the responsibilities of safeguarding health for dependent people. The industry is notorious for the low wages it pays to its nursing aides—the front-line of care. Low wages cause high turnover, which leads to inferior care—and high profits.

The industry is also known for shady accounting practices and patient neglect. Hardly a month goes by without some new regulatory initiative by state agencies that foot the bill, by Congress, or HEW. Yet the system continues to place more mentally ill at the mercy of nursing home proprietors.

Today's favorite reform strategy is the promotion of home health care. Visionaries—and employers of homemakers—see hundreds of thousands of patients moved out of nursing homes into their own apartments, with services brought directly to them. Late in the Ford administration HEW held hearings to sanction the entrance of proprietary home health services and to amend Medicaid, Medicare and SSI regulations to facilitate reimbursement.

These regulations are now being considered by the new HEW officials. They contain the same dilemma present in all aspects of Medicaid—we want the best kind of services available, but the character of the organizations delivering them needs scrutiny, too.

A new reform strategy must be launched, and its hallmark should be that providers guilty of exploitation of patients should be suspended and their programs taken over by the public sector.

Paul Booth is a trade union official in Chicago.

Simon Rosenblum

Socialism and social democracy, in Canada's New Democratic party

A debate concerning socialism vs. social democracy has begun to engage the American left. Across the border one expects to find substantial discussion regarding the New Democratic party but the Canadian left is surprisingly uninvolved in the NDP. The NDP is a social-democratic labor party, partly based on and largely financed by the trade unions. Contrary to most Canadian leftists, I believe that the NDP, whatever its past and present shortcomings, can eventually be turned into a socialist party genuinely committed to the creation of a radically different social order.

Before discussing working within a social-democratic party, the question of whether there can be an electoral transition to socialism must be dealt with. Many leftists argue that the parliamentary "road to socialism" is not a road at all; it is a deadend. The most common complaint is that the capitalists would never permit it and the Chilean tragedy is used as a definitive example. It is true that ruling classes don't just fold up their tents and slink away. Capitalists, if ever decisively threatened, will put up the strongest possible resistance, by whatever means they have on hand, to prevent their own extinction or harassment. But it is not true that this inevitably means armed resistance by capitalists and their military forces. Democratic traditions in advanced Western countries seem strong enough to allow one to envisage a major onslaught against the power of capital without risking the survival of democracy.

Although often dismissed as "revisionist" such an analysis was made by Marx and Engels who suggested that a socialist transformation in such countries as England and Holland, with their deep-rooted democratic traditions, might be relatively peaceful. The electoral alliance between the French Socialist and Communist parties may favorably resolve this question in the 1980s.

The electoral arena must be entered if socialism is to be put on the agenda of Canadian politics. The alternative is a politics outside the established formal democratic framework that continues to occupy a mystical never-never land. Such theorizing may intoxicate the militants, but it remains a fantasy. As long as the parliamentary route is available, a party that does not attempt to gain power through it will not be taken seriously. As a recent *ITT* editorial maintained: "A movement that does not submit itself publicly to the judgment of the people can never hope to gain their confidence and loyalty." It is a tragic irony of 20th century history that the socialist and democratic traditions became to a significant extent, divorced. Against the words of an *ITT* editorial: "To reject 'bourgeois democracy' not only confuses substance with form, but also implicitly or explicitly rejects democracy itself."

Following from this orientation is the question for Canadian socialists of whether to work within the NDP or form a socialist party. The latter might seem like an attractive option but the close relationship

of the labor movement with the NDP makes it extremely difficult for such a party to gain any constituency. It is by no means accidental that such attempts inevitably end up as small fringe groups lacking the strength to be taken seriously. Unlike the Democratic party in the U.S., the NDP is clearly a "workers" party and enjoys deep loyalties as a result of this attachment. It is of little use to claim that the dispersion of illusions about the NDP will produce a climate in which a new party could take root: established parties are not disestablished that way. Only after an alternative has emerged do masses of people change their allegiance. Consequently, a meaningful socialist force can only be built through working to transform the NDP into a socialist party that can be the instrument for socialist victory in Canada. As indicated by efforts to transform the English, German and Swedish labor parties, the task is not an easy one and failure is at least as likely as success. Social-democratic parties have a striking tendency toward increasing conformity but there is no immutable law that says the NDP must always oppose socialist politics. Difficult or not, it is clear that if socialists cannot win over the membership of social-democratic parties they are unlikely to influence the general population. Since the NDP (at least, on the national level) is far removed from the seats of power, there is a much greater opportunity of changing both its policies and leaders than has been the situation in England, Germany and Sweden.

It is true that there can be no purely parliamentary approach to socialism. Fundamental political change occurs only after a prolonged period of ferment and conflict within the principal cultural, social, and economic institutions of society. This necessitates what German student leader Rudi Dutschke called "a long march through all the institutions of society." The radical transformation of the existing social order in a socialist direction will require a lot more than electoral legitimation and, within a complex and diffuse scenario, must include many different forms of action, pressure and struggle. The NDP must be transformed so that it actively intervenes in the day-to-day struggles of working people. The problem is to make the NDP capable of giving institutional expression to greater participation, to make it the leader and not the controller of—or substitute for—participant and democratic action. A reformed NDP must be present at every contradiction and conflict in society, and at every effort at invention and creation. The NDP must learn the necessity of making the question of socialism vs. capitalism central to all its public activity. This is the only way in which the consciousness of people, rather than the opinions of voters, can finally be changed.

Simon Rosenblum is a Canadian and was active in the Canadian left during the late '60s and early '70s. After four years in the U.S. he will be returning to Canada in the near future.



Frances Moore Lappe / Joe Collins

World recession improves the Jamaican diet

Changes in Jamaica in the early 1970s, including a shift toward greater food self-reliance, higher wages for workers and more national revenue retained from foreign investment, were ridiculed by the *Wall Street Journal* in 1976. According to the *Journal*, such policies must have been dreamed up by a coalition of "Yuppies, Jane Fonda and the most adventurous liberals in the U.S. Congress." But those who have studied the effects on the welfare of Jamaicans perceive the shift differently.

By the early '70s Jamaica had become dependent on imports for almost one-half the calories its two million people consumed. Over two-thirds of the country's protein supply was coming from imported food, primarily from the U.S. When international food prices began to climb in 1973 many feared nutritional disaster for the people of Jamaica. Banana export revenues, a primary source of foreign exchange with which to import food, remained virtually constant. Thus between mid-1973 and 1975 food prices within Jamaica doubled.

What was the impact on the majority

of rural Jamaicans who spent 70 to 90 percent of their income in 1973 on food? Nutritional surveys in the parish of St. James by Dr. Thomas Marchione of the University of Connecticut's department of community medicine found the impact to be the opposite of what many feared. Based on a sample of 300 households, Marchione concluded that, contrary to expectation, serious forms of malnutrition in children had been cut in half, from 9.5 percent of the population to 4.5 percent during the period 1973 to 1975. Improvement in nutritional well-being appeared to be the greatest in the semi-substance households, where improvement was on the order of 66 percent. Malnutrition dropped from 14.4 percent to 4.3 percent. Indeed, the poorest families benefitted the most.

How does Marchione explain the improvement in the nutritional well-being of the people when food prices were rising so rapidly and export income from a major export crop, bananas, was stagnant? "The soaring costs of imported foods, the shortages of imported foods, and perhaps to a small degree, banning

import of some nonessential foods created a favorable local market for the locally produced foods. At the same time, the banana export market became less attractive, encouraging a shift in land utilization away from the export crop" and toward more production for local consumption.

Through Marchione's research in Jamaica we learn that because the economic crisis forced increased attention to production for local consumption, it had "positive consequences" for Jamaicans.

In homes not producing food for their own consumption Marchione also found no deterioration in the nutrition status of children. He explains this phenomenon, in large part, by the government's tacit support of aggressive unionism. Between 1972 and 1975 labor contract settlements resulted in substantial increases in wages for workers all over the island. Unemployment and underemployment were reduced as well by government public works programs financed through increased levies upon the bauxite industry, owned by North American companies.

Not all, of course, share a positive in-

terpretation of Jamaica's policy changes. The *Wall Street Journal* entitled its scathing editorial attack on Jamaican policies, "Dismantling an Island Paradise." But what one can discern with the help of research such as Marchione's is that dismantling the neo-colonial dependency both on export crops and food imports is a first step in addressing the causes of hunger.

Source: Thomas J. Marchione, "Food and Nutrition Policy in Self-Reliant National Development," University of Connecticut Medical School, prepared for the American Anthropological Meeting, Washington, D.C., Nov. 9, 1976.

Frances Moore Lappe and Joseph Collins co-direct the Institute for Food and Development Policy (2588 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110). Lappe is the author of *Diet for a Small Planet*. Collins assisted Richard Barnett and Ronald Muller in researching and writing *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporation*. Their new book, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* will be published in June. The authors are grateful to David Kinley III for assistance in preparing this article.



Salvador Luria

Smoking causes cancer, so might table salt

In my column of April 13 I explained that, from the point of view of cellular pathology, both cancer and circulatory diseases are "diseases of development." This means that cancer and probably also arterial diseases involve the abnormal development of certain cells, which fail to respond to the developmental controls that keep the cells of the body in their normal functional state.

Jim Schlosser correctly point out (*ITT*, May 3) that my statement could be interpreted as meaning that cancer and circulatory diseases are *caused* by abnormalities in the development of the organism, whereas it is now believed that most cancers are due to environmental factors.

His point is well taken. One must distinguish between the pathology of cancer cells, which is pathology of cellular development, and the initial causes of cellular cancerization.

The evidence for environmental causation of cancer is circumstantial but powerful. It ranges from the proved roles of cigarettes and of asbestos in producing lung cancer (most effectively when both are present together) to the dramatic incidence of stomach cancer in those Japanese that emigrated to the U.S., to other evidence of regional incidence of specific cancers. As Jim Schlosser wrote, it is believed that environmental factors are involved in the production of as many as 80 or 90 percent of all cancers.

From recognizing the role of environmental factors, however, to finding ways of preventing cancer there is a long way to go. Testing chemicals for ability to produce cancer requires complicated studies on many animals and the results, even when positive, may be difficult to interpret in relation to humans. The recent controversy about saccharin is an example: what do the animal tests mean?

Quicker and more sensitive tests have been devised, especially by Dr. Bruce Ames at the University of California. These rapid tests use bacteria, whose genetic response to chemicals appears to parallel quite well the ability of chemicals to produce cancers. This and other ap-

proaches promise to reveal that certain chemicals are potential causes of cancers.

How far can this go? What we want to know is what are the environmental factors that cause the millions of cancers that already appear every year. Until now the tests have confirmed the potency of known carcinogenic chemicals such as tar derivatives, but have discovered no new factors that could contribute more than a minimal fraction to the current incidence of cancer. It may well be that many or most cancers are produced by environmental factors over which we have little control: some components of common foods, some common salts in water, or even combinations of many innocuous factors.

What I am trying to say is that we are probably farther from environmental prevention of cancer than we are from effective cancer therapy. The hope that cleaning pollution from cities or streams could wipe out cancer is probably an illusion, as are most simplistic approaches to technical problems.

The demand for the elimination of polluting wastes is much more important from the social and political view than from the medical one. Especially the elimination of exposure to noxious and dangerous substances in factories and other work places must always be a prime demand of the working class. Likewise, the industrial pollution of air or water by private interests represents capitalistic oppression and must be fought.

I have wondered, however, whether the environmentalists' vision of the evils of pollution—for example, by car exhausts or by urban crowding—may not sometimes reflect an underlying bourgeois ideology, which cherishes an ideal of unpolluted, clean (suburban) communities and is repelled by the esthetic rather than the social conditions of urban life in America.

Salvador Luria is a Nobel laureate in biochemistry and a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His column appears regularly.

Incest

Across:

- 1 Weekly delight, with 8A
- 8 See 1A
- 13 Soviet columnist
- 14 Covered by Naison
- 16 Oswald *et al.*?
- 17 Oil used in medicine
- 18 Literary initials
- 19 Tanner or Solomon
- 20 Tanner's specialty
- 21 Political columnist
- 25 European nat.
- 26 Noun suffix
- 27 Depression traveler
- 28 Watergater
- 30 Arithmetic preposition
- 31 Marxist—
- 33 Difficult, in Soho
- 34 Gov't agency
- 35 Road or way: Abbr.
- 36 Numero —
- 37 Heel
- 40 West
- 41 Ellsberg, Garson & Radosh
- 43 Weinstein & Carter
- 44 Suffering
- 46 Pine, in Malaga
- 47 Geometric solid
- 48 Be ill
- 49 Financial event of 1819
- 50 Viper
- 51 Followed HST
- 52 Recallable item
- 54 Open market operator
- 56 Helmet
- 60 Spiritual meeting
- 61 Regular columnist
- 62 Associate editor
- 63 When — cried —, article, with 21D

Down:

- 1 Little devil
- 2 Educ. organization
- 3 Explosive
- 4 Waste maker
- 5 Suffix of Gr. origin
- 6 Irish fairies
- 7 Shoe sizes
- 8 Ivan & Peter
- 9 — facto
- 10 Extinct bird
- 11 Roving
- 12 Type of plaster
- 15 Fictional pirate
- 19 Opposite of call
- 21 See 63A
- 22 All right: Var.
- 23 Oscar nominee
- 24 Polyn. banana
- 25 Insect
- 26 Conclusion
- 28 Report panned by Ehrenreich
- 29 employ
- 30 Fe
- 32 New Deal agency, *et al.*
- 33 Soon
- 34 Cape
- 36 News service
- 37 Nickel or dime
- 38 Indian buffalo
- 39 Convention covered, Vol. 1, No. 15
- 40 French Mrs.
- 41 Science columnist, to friends
- 42 Resort
- 43 Legal columnist (to friends), *et al.*
- 44 — season
- 45 — in the sky
- 47 Felines
- 48 Snake
- 49 Light reflector
- 51 Numerical prefix
- 52 Tend
- 53 Glacial ridge
- 55 Viet revolutionary org: Var. order
- 56 — Lie
- 57 Federal agency
- 58 Time period
- 59 Endeavor

Answer to last week's crossword puzzle:

KARL NEEDS PEAT
EBRO AN'OU LAIR
RIEN SANER ARMY
REV PAM SPRAY
OPAL LEASES
EPLUR VIRUS ONE
NOUS AROSE UBE
GOTHA LAP TITLE
EPI ROUTE ARROY
LOO GREED PLACE
SONTAG SAUF
SOAP SAT RAS
ULNA NIGER MINT
SEER ILIAD ACEV
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LIFE IN THE U.S.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW

By David Moberg
Staff Writer

Genial Jimmy from Plains promised an open and honest White House that would keep a tight leash on the intelligence hounds when he was asking for votes last fall. Is there any sign that the CIA, FBI, NSA and the rest of the spy and intelligence establishment has been restrained now that he's in power?

"The signals are mixed," Morton Halperin, director of the Project on National Security and Civil Liberties, told **IN THESE TIMES** recently. "There isn't as much change as one might have hoped for, and there are some areas in which Carter has been very disappointing." In the main, Halperin, who is suing Henry Kissinger for bugging his home phone while involved on the National Security Council, thinks that protection of the law and civil liberties from intelligence agency abuse has sunk lower and lower in priority with the advance of the Pto-mac Shuffle.

There are some hopeful signs from within the administration, Halperin says. More important ultimately, the public and congressional forces that have challenged spy secrecy and lack of accountability for the past several years are now on the offensive. A bill (HR-6051) introduced April 5 by Rep. Herman Badillo (D-NY) would outlaw political surveillance, all wiretapping and bugging, paid informants in political groups, "preventive action" involving forgery, agents provocateur and other harassment, cover-ups of illegal intelligence activities and other bulwarks of American intelligence work.

HR-6051 would also mandate the CIA to stop its covert operations and gathering of intelligence. Renamed the Foreign Information Agency, it would be allowed to analyze data from public sources and technical devices such as satellites. The FBI in turn could only investigate incidents where there was probable cause that a crime was involved. All "speech crimes," such as the Smith Act, would be struck from the books. Government powers to keep secrets would be further curtailed and "whistleblowers" who reveal government wrongdoing would be protected. The CIA would also be stopped from using outside groups, such as universities, foundations, unions or religious bodies, as spy covers.

"For the first time those trying to bring intelligence agencies under the Constitution are on the offensive," Halperin says. Some kind of legislative charter for the intelligence agencies will almost certainly replace the executive orders that now provide their limited guidelines. Carter has assigned Vice-President Mondale the task of drafting a charter. Besides HR-6051, some proposal will also come soon from the Senate Intelligence Committee.

FBI prosecution.

One of the most promising moves, Halperin says, is Attorney General Griffin Bell's decision to pursue prosecution of New York FBI supervisor John J. Kearney. Kearney is charged with illegally opening mail and wiretapping in connection with FBI investigations of criminal charges against members of the Weather Underground.

Unlike the ambiguous world of domestic intelligence operations, Halperin says, this was a clear case of illegal activities involved in a criminal investigation. Ultimate targets of the prosecution may be high-ranking FBI officials Edward S. Miller, head of intelligence operations in Washington, and Mark Felt, second-in-command at the FBI, who has said that former director Patrick Gray approved the taps and mail probes.

"If Felt and Miller are indicted," Halperin says, "it will have a very substantial effect. What it will do is eliminate the belief intelligence agencies have that they're immune. As Carter said in his press conference, it was simply a matter

Morton Halperin: on offensive against spying



of whether you believe in the rule of law and whether that applies to FBI agents as well as everyone else."

There are some signs, however, that Carter wants secrecy about intelligence operations almost as badly as his predecessors. Halperin ticked off a number of early sins by the Carter administration: attempting to stop the *Washington Post* from publishing stories on payoffs to Jordan's King Hussein, wanting to cut down the number of people with access to information about the intelligence agencies, musing about passing new laws against "leaks," and trying to delete a sentence from the Senate Intelligence Committee report on the CIA in Micronesia.

More generally, Carter's collapse in the face of attacks on his first appointment to head the CIA, Ted Sorenson, "was a signal that the Carter administration would not fight as hard on this issue, would not attach as much priority to it as people might have thought... [CIA director] Admiral Stansfield Turner is an intelligent, honorable man, but his own interests and concerns go much more to improving the intelligence product... I think he doesn't have any personal commitment and sense of the violation of constitutional rights that the CIA engaged in and the need to do something about it."

The way to improve the intelligence product, Halperin says, is to have the CIA evaluate more effectively information relatively easily acquired, as Congress intended when it set up the agency. Presently the CIA does "not claim at all to have restricted their intelligence operations, but they would say they are doing fewer covert operations. The line between those is very hard to draw. You can't buy

the police chief in an African country and just have that be an intelligence-gathering operation. Quickly we get into a position where we want to see him get promoted, and in order to do that we do A, B, C."

Carter has said that he has reviewed and approved all current CIA covert operations—active subversion as opposed to intelligence-gathering. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance told the Senate earlier that such actions were only justified when the survival of the nation was at stake. "It's hard for me to believe that at this moment there is any covert operation about which that can be said," Halperin says.

It's Carter's CIA.

Why has Carter backpedaled on intelligence issues? "Moynihan put it somewhat flippantly when asked why there was a change," Halperin said. "He said, 'Well, it's our CIA now.' I think part of it is that Carter has a very strong streak of suspicion about the Soviet Union, which makes it hard for him to do things that he is told will reduce our ability to deal with the Russians."

"Also there is a great difficulty for people who come into office without a lot of experience and confidence in foreign affairs. This bureaucracy has a habit of saying, 'Now that you're in, let us tell you the real secrets. Here's really why we need that wiretap bill. Here's really what our secret agents do.' Then you come to say, 'Well, that's a whole different thing I hadn't thought of.' Also, there's the structural problem that there are no forces inside the government working for intelligence agency reform," un-

like tax reform, welfare reform or other programs.

Even worse, the attorney general, who has to prosecute intelligence agency wrongdoing, also relies on those same agencies to do his investigating. So the FBI investigated the Martin Luther King assassination without informing anyone that they had an ongoing campaign to destroy him. "That certainly raises doubts about the credibility of their investigation," Halperin said. "If someone sets out to destroy a person, who then dies, they should become a target of investigation."

Independent prosecutor.

In order to avoid FBI coverups and blackmail of the sort now applied to Attorney General Bell—with the FBI warning that agents' "morale" and effectiveness will be undermined if their illegal acts are prosecuted—Halperin urges formation of a special independent prosecutor's office with its own staff and "authority by law to demand any information in the possession of any intelligence agency and authority to make that information public."

The treatment of non-citizens who are not directly employed by foreign governments in the Carter administration's new wiretap bill worries Halperin. "They can be wiretapped in a wide range of very ill-defined circumstances. That would put foreign visitors, foreign students, and foreign businessmen in a whole new category. It would go away from the basic principle of the Constitution, that it would protect persons and not just citizens."

The CIA claims that they need that authority to investigate the work of foreign intelligence agencies, such as Chile's DINA or Iran's SAVAK, in the U.S. "That's based on this notion that the idea is to have the most efficient surveillance possible," Halperin says. "That's not the notion of constitutional democracy. We put some restraints on the government, not because we think that they could be more efficient without those restraints but because we value our freedom."

A loophole in ex-President Ford's CIA-designed executive order on intelligence agencies now permits the CIA to investigate the background on an individual without informing him and with a phony cover, such as a credit agency, if they're thinking of hiring him as a secret agent. The FBI, which abused such authority to carry out a wide range of spying, no longer can use this device. A Court of Appeals ruled that the CIA violates its charter in conducting such secret inquiries, but Halperin says that Carter should act immediately to strike the loophole from Ford's order.

Halperin is also concerned that "the grand jury has become for many purposes the substitute for the old public congressional investigations of the House Un-American Activities committee and a substitute in some cases for the FBI's own domestic intelligence operations... It's clear that any fundamental, comprehensive reform of the intelligence process... has to include some kinds of control on the grand jury."

To provide a rationale for their continued power, the intelligence community is increasing its efforts to make foreign spies and terrorism appear to be growing threats, Halperin says. The CIA may also expand use of its insidious techniques of "disinformation"—secretly planting lies with journalists—to discredit critics, such as John Stockwell, the head of the CIA Angola Task Force, who publicly exposed and attacked CIA Africa operations when he recently resigned.

As the intelligence agencies demand continued secrecy, Halperin insists that publicity and clear legal restraint of the agencies must increase, based on "an understanding of secret intelligence agencies. It's not blowing the assets of the CIA with the Chilean secret police."

SPORTS

TV boxing mired in controversy

By Joe Heumann

Boxing (known to some as the Sweet Science of Bruising) is returning to television in a very big way this year. Such a cyclical turn (fights were very big on TV in the '50s and early '60s) bodes ill for the sport in America.

Around 50 fights are scheduled for network TV this year. The majority will be yawners. A few will be interesting. Some have already been embarrassments.

I was sitting in a bar watching ABC's American Boxing Championships Feb. 13. Scott LeDoux had just finished giv-

ing a beating to highly touted Johnny Beaudoux. We sat around waiting for the inevitable decision, but when it came the wrong heavyweight was awarded the fight. LeDoux blew his cork and attempted to kick his winning opponent in the teeth, screaming fix all the while. George Foreman, who was sitting at ringside with Howard Cosell, broke the two fighters apart, while Howard groped for his displaced toupee.

The bartender immediately changed channels, saying "Not only do most of those fights stink, they're rigged." No one watching the bouts complained.

The immediate problem with TV boxing coverage is its need to create a spectacle. Every fight brought to our living room screens must create enough audience interest to justify the investment by network and advertisers. Championship fights are the best, but if a champion is not produced, the audience has to be assured that the opponents are of "championship" caliber or will soon be contending for the title.

The problem is that in boxing, as in many other sports, it takes a long period of training and experience before a competitor is ready to take on the tougher opponents in his class. If a young fighter is matched against a seasoned pro too early in his career, he can suffer a terrible beating, both to his body and his psyche. A loss of confidence can be more crushing than the loss of one fight itself. It can ruin a fighter's career and more than once has ruined a man's health. This is the situation with many of the young, coming fighters now scheduled for TV fights.

CBS, recognizing the success of ABC's coverage of the American boxers at the Montreal Olympics, has already presented the TV debuts of three of the gold medalists, Sugar Ray Leonard, Howard David and Leon Spinks.

Leonard was paid \$40,000 to appear in his first pro fight on CBS. That was so popular that ABC stepped back in and signed him to an exclusive TV contract. CBS responded by signing Davis and scheduling more fights by Spinks. The networks are now responsible for the development of these men as fighters; for the slow maturation of still-budding talents.

Other priorities?

It may be, however, that the networks have other priorities. Fighters are capital investments and such investments require payoffs. At the same time TV audiences may tire fast of watching young fighters wading through inferior opponents as

they refine the tools of their trade. They may not understand that a green challenger has to be taken along slowly.

In the case of Howard Davis, for instance, it would be fair to say that he has another two years of education before he should take on a man of greater experience and learning—like lightweight champion Roberto (Stonehands) Duran.

A couple of months ago CBS Sports presented second fights by Spinks and Davis. Both men faced rank amateurs who were easily dispatched. Spinks put his man to sleep in less than two minutes of the first round, while Davis played cat to some poor mouse before the fight ended in the fourth. As Davis was interviewed by a CBS reporter he raised a gloved hand and repeatedly asked for a match with Duran, making the rash Ali-like claim that he'd lay the champ low if ever given the opportunity.

The temerity of this youth might be sluffed off to confidence, bravado or keen showmanship, but the fact that Duran also has an exclusive TV contract with CBS brought on other thoughts. Was CBS planning for an early return on their dollar outlay by pitting Davis against Duran in the next year? Was Davis being coached to make such statements in the interest of building up such a match? If this happened Davis would be in for a bad time and an early education.

It is conceivable that ABC, CBS, or NBC will never threaten their investment by early mismatches. If, however, you read or see that Spinks, Davis or Leonard will be fighting for a championship in the next 12 months, chalk it off to impatience on the part of the networks.

Postscript.

CBS' *60 Minutes* had a camera crew at the LeDoux fight. They were doing a story on fight promoter Don King, so the histrionics gave them a good opportunity to blast the promoter while also sticking the knife into a rival network. The state of Maryland caught wind of LeDoux's charges, took them seriously and convened a grand jury to look into the mess. As a result, ABC cancelled the remainder of their championship series in mid-April.

LeDoux's charges started to stick when two other fighters testified that they had paid kickbacks to *Ring* magazine and to promoters of the matches in order to be included. *Ring*, in turn, allegedly falsified division rankings, turning unranked fighters into title contenders. Some of these fighters, like LeDoux, now claim that they had been told that the final judgment of their fight had also been predetermined, a felony offense.

After ABC dropped the series Don King, the brain behind the scheme, fired his two closest aides. He claimed no knowledge of any wrongdoing. ABC, in the great tradition of the '50s game scandals, also claimed innocence. Rooney Arledge, president of ABC sports, played dumb under withering fire, but looked very embarrassed doing so.

This does not end the story. The grand jury is still working. James Farley, the New York Boxing Commissioner, is in trouble for his connection with legitimizing the event for ABC. Allegations are still flying in the air, like birds returning for spring. Don King has rehired his two aides. ABC has promoted Rooney Arledge to President of News and Sports. CBS, who looked good for using *60 Minutes* to make fools of ABC and Don King, quietly dropped a portion of their Saturday afternoon boxing slate. It seems that the Maryland grand jury reacquainted the CBS brass to the fact that someone can't own two fighters in the ring at the same time without creating the suspicion of a fix. So we won't be seeing Howard Davis against Duran until one or the other is out of the hands of the network.

Joe Heumann teaches at Eastern Illinois University and writes regularly for *In These Times*.



UPI

What is the business of baseball?

By Julie Schor

Late in April I watched CBS's *The Baseball Business*, in expectation of a muckraking classic in the tradition of *The Selling of the Pentagon*. After all, CBS used to own the Yankees. But none of this history, nor the inside financial information on the industry, which CBS presumably could provide, was permitted to surface. Instead, *The Baseball Business* was 60 minutes of free advertising for the New York Yankees and major league baseball, with a heavy side dose of the baseball myth.

And it's a shame. Because behind that myth lies a fascinating financial world. What is the real business of baseball? Is it to be found in the sensationalism over high player salaries of which the CBS show was a classic example? Or does it lie on the other side of the capitalist coin—in the land of owners and profits?

Baseball has always been a "closed book" industry. Marvin Miller, executive director of the Major League Players' Association calls it the most secretive industry in the country. Baseball teams are not required to make public their financial records; few do. Or, when they do, it's difficult to take the information too seriously. One year the Boston Red Sox simultaneously reported a \$122,032 profit in congressional hearings and a \$616,640 loss to the *Sporting News*.

The word is that baseball is a losing proposition. CBS says that last year only nine major league clubs reported making profits, the owners too plead poverty. But the figures tell a different story.

The 1975 estimates from the Baseball Commissioner's office record \$150 to

Far from a losing proposition, big profits lie behind the baseball myth.

\$175 million in profits, or an average of \$6 to \$7 million per club. For a club worth \$15 million this translates into a profit rate of 44 percent. For a \$10 million club, the rate is 65 percent. These numbers begin to suggest why the price of teams has skyrocketed despite the claims that high salaries and declining interest are ruining the industry.

Team values, which some economists regard as the legitimate measure of profits, have increased on average \$6-10 million per club in the National League and \$4-13 million per club in the American League, measured since team acquisition. Examples of profit-per-year rates by this measure range from 25 to 100 percent, depending on the club. Compare this with the five percent the average person can earn in a savings bank.

But this is only half the story. The final piece in the profit puzzle can be found in the IRS tax code. It's a big, fat loophole called depreciation. Its effect is to render profitable even those teams that look like they run "in the red."

Under existing laws when a baseball team (or an individual player) is purchased, the buyer can depreciate the value of the players' contracts. Depreciation means they can be treated as a cost, rather

than an asset. These depreciation costs can be subtracted from taxable income thereby turning profits into losses. The Brookings Institution estimates that the amount of depreciation expenses claimed exceeds the profits that even the best managed teams can earn.

In past years owners could claim depreciation far in excess of the actual monetary cost of the contract. The most famous example is the case of the Atlanta Braves, who allocated 99 percent of their \$6.1 million price tag to players' contracts. This left only \$50,000 to which they had to allocate all the other assets of the club—franchise value, radio and TV rights, etc. The impact of the write-off is that the Braves would have to pay no taxes on their first \$4.2 million in profits.

Beginning in January 1977, however, contracts cannot be depreciated in excess of their monetary value. It would seem that this change is a key factor in the tremendous salary increases this season. If depreciation is limited to the value of the contract, inflate the value of the contract.

The effects of depreciation reach far beyond the profit and loss statement of the club itself. Corporately owned teams can apply the paper losses from the team to their other subsidiaries and avoid paying taxes on profit made there. And for clubs owned as partnerships, each partner can apply the loss to her/his personal income and escape income taxes.

CBS, the New York Yankees, and major league baseball have no interest in exposing the profitability of their industry. They do have an interest in maintaining the baseball myth, though. ■

TAMING THE GIANT CORPORATION

By Ralph Nader, Mark Green and Joel Seligman

W.W. Norton, New York, 1977

Public concern for corporate abuse is nothing new. Back at the turn of the century, when J.P. Morgan and his robber baron associates were creating billion-dollar corporations like U.S. Steel through the merger and consolidation of smaller companies—watering stock and taking rather generous fees in the process—politicians postured about the evils of monopoly and the malefactors of great wealth.

The reality, of course, was expressed more clearly by one candid senator before a gathering of businessmen: "You send us to Congress; we pass laws under which you make money;...and out of your profits you further contribute to our campaign funds to send us back again to pass more laws to enable you to make more money." And so corporate abuse has continued to this day.

Now as then, most discussions of how to stop the abuses of giant corporations revolve around three broad approaches: vigorous anti-trust enforcement, regulation, and socialism. Each, of course, has its variants.

Ralph Nader, Mark Green and Joel Seligman, in *Taming the giant Corporation*, mix approaches one and two—the advocate control through regulation and legislative deconcentration so that no less than four firms control 50 percent or more of a relevant market.

New structural rules needed.

If it is possible to design a set of regulations and legal enforcement procedures that would make American capitalism work, the authors have done it. This is no small achievement. They have creative, plausible remedies for all manner of abuses. They make a strong case that these corporate practices are built in to the structure of the economic system. They are not abuses of operating norms; they *are* the norms. Thus, new structural and behavioral rules are needed.

Nader, Green and Seligman trace the growing power of corporations to escape social control in an excellent historical review of the legal changes in the rights and obligations of publicly chartered corporations. They describe how corporations, which at first were narrowly circumscribed and viewed as creatures of the state set up for public purposes and for fixed terms, grew to dominate the state.

They offer a carefully worked out and surprisingly uncomplicated procedure for federal corporate chartering and enforcement. Only giant corporations would be covered under the proposed legislation—those with sales of over a quarter billion dollars or employing more than 10,000 persons, including U.S. divisions of foreign corporations. Penalties for corporate violation would be raised from their current laughable levels. Corporate officials convicted of willful violations would be barred from serving as officers or directors for five years after a conviction. (As they write, "One does not re-employ an embezzler as a bank teller"). Penalties would be increased still further for recidivists so that punishment would deter.

Need to know more.

There are a number of practical aspects to their proposal. They would route SEC Budget requests, for instance, directly to Congress rather than to "the White House's politically sensitive Office of Management and Budget."

It may be questioned, of course, whether the backrooms of powerful Congressional leaders are very different from the White House. They also would bar SEC Commissioners and senior staff assistants from joining a law firm with an SEC clientele or to work for a corporation for two years after leaving office.

And they would increase citizen right to initiate action and for reimbursement of costs. This should help fund Nader-type activities.

As the authors point out, there's a lot that we don't know about today's corporations. Among Chrysler's top 30 shareholders, for instance, are listed: Kane and Co., Cudd and Co., and Egger and Co., all "street name" fronts for the Chase

CORPORATIONS

A blueprint for trust busting



"You have your integrity, son—I have mine!"

Manhattan Bank. The law now allows concealing of real owners.

Similarly subsidiaries can now be owned and controlled in complex involutions to allow profits to be moved back and forth to minimize taxes paid at the local, state and national levels, and of course to conceal bribe payments and kickbacks. Financial statements, annual reports, accountant reviews are all worthless, misleading and often fraudulent.

Nader, Green and Seligman call for federal chartering under which all investments of a corporation would be revealed along with significant long term contracts, debt, changes in ownership, subsidies received from government(s) and contractions. They would also guarantee employees' rights to blow the whistle on illegal actions, protecting them from reprisals.

Past piecemeal attempts at legislative and executive oversight, in turn, have created a nightmare of confusion. Businesses must fill out thousands of federal information forms and as *Wall Street Journal* editorialists are fond of pointing out, paper records could fill 50 football stadiums.

The virtue of Nader, Green and Seligman's proposal is that it would consolidate much of this, preempting present ineffective efforts at information gathering and regulation.

That such new legislation would be an improvement, at least on paper, need hardly be debated, but they underestimate the ability of these firms to avoid compliance while appearing to follow the law. Such "reforms" would clearly be seen as a declaration of war on corporations.

Nader, Green and Seligman want it both ways. They want the dramatic changes that can only come about through public confrontation and struggle, but they do not want to declare war on the system. They believe fundamental reform can be made acceptable.

Past efforts a sham.

History in this regard does not inspire hope. Anti-trust laws and their enforcement have always been a sham in this country. Teddy Roosevelt exposed "bad" trusts. Nader knows such ceremonial rituals do little to change things. Maybe Roosevelt knew that too.

The book abounds with instance after instance of the most blatant refusal of large corporations to obey the law or even to cooperate with enforcement agencies. My favorite is the refusal by both the Pentagon and McDonnell-Douglas to disclose the number of blacks hired by McDonnell on the grounds that this was a "trade secret."

Even when the federal government has prosecuted a corporation for serious abuses little has come of their efforts. A big case can generate tens of millions of documents. A firm like IBM spends more to defend itself from a Justice department suit than the entire budget of the department's antitrust division. IBM and other corporations can stall cases for a decade or more. Few anti-trust cases are lost by large corporations, indeed few ever come to trial. Fines for illegal behavior, when awarded, are typically trivial given corporate resources.

The central orientation of Nader, Green and Seligman is that bigness is bad *per se* and that we must restore competition or effective democracy can never be realized.

Is bigness the problem?

But is bigness alone the problem? Small corporations are no bargain either. The problem is a system of production for profit. Consider occupational health and safety. The work record is worst in the small marginal firms; so is pay; so is job security. Would medium size firms advertise responsibly? Is there such a thing?

Nader and his associates do not come to grips with capitalism as a social/economic/political system that is exploitative in nature. Reform is possible, but the sort of structural change they want could only succeed if the power of capital to make the key investment and production decisions is broken.

The strength of the Nader-spawned movement is that it raises the right questions: the totalitarian powers of the global corporations, their hierarchical authoritarian structure, their denial of democratic rights to their employees, their illegal pricing policies, their disregard for the environment and for product safety and worker safety. This critique is a forceful one.

Their solution, however, is a half-way measure. It must either be extended, moving forward by building a mass movement to put the control of our productive capacities into the hands of workers and consumers, or else it will be captured by the forces it seeks to regulate.

—Bill Tabb

Bill Tabb is an economist specializing in urban affairs.

DO YOU HAVE 10 FRIENDS



who should be reading
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street _____
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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

Woody's *Annie* absolutely tops

ANNIE HALL

Directed by Woody Allen
Screenplay by Woody Allen and
Marshall Brickman
Distributed by United Artists,
Rated PG

You walk out of *Annie Hall* so full of warm, rueful laughter that you want to make sure all those people waiting to get in the theater see your face and know what a lovely experience they have in store for them.

Woody Allen has just outdistanced the field in *Annie Hall*. He has always been an original filmmaker; this time he has become a great.

The film opens with him telling two stand-up jokes which he says sum up his attitude toward life. "I wouldn't want to belong to a club that would have me as a member." And, "Two women at a Catskill mountain resort are talking; the first woman says: 'the food here is terrible;' and the second woman, agreeing, says: 'Yes, and the portions are so small.'"

With that, Alvy Singer (Woody Allen) goes on to weave in and out of time, telling us the story of his on-again-off-again, long term affair with Annie Hall (Diane Keaton). In the end the things he remembers most are those moments when they were both laughing at their own absurdities—like the time when there were lobsters crawling over the kitchen floor and behind the refrigerator because they were both too squeamish to pick up the beasts and put them in the pot alive. Or their first meeting, blind double-dating on the tennis court, when back in street clothes and saying goodbye, she



was so devastatingly awkward, and so absurdly pretty and so shiny in her eagerness to be pleasing. Allen makes simple moments terribly, humanly funny. He also makes the experiences intimate enough so that one can feel tenderly toward one's own awful moments. That's art.

Searching for understanding, Alvy Singer recalls his childhood in Brooklyn under the Coney Island rollercoaster. (Every time a ride goes by the whole house shakes to pieces.) He is a depressed little boy worrying about the gradual expansion of the universe, who grows up to be a neurotic, successful Jewish comedian like Woody Allen.

Then there is the terrible time when Annie takes Alvy out to Chippewa Falls to meet her aggressively WASPy family. They are all polite, but you can feel problems sticking out all over them like porcupine quills. For a flash moment Alvy sees himself transformed into a Hasidic Jew with wide hat and side curls in the steely eyes of Annie's grandmother.

I was particularly taken with one scene where Annie and Alvy are standing in line waiting to get into a movie. Behind them is a Columbia professor sounding off about the intricacies of filmmaking (about which he knows nothing), a parody of the super

intellectual, arty film critics who irritate Allen as much as they do me. As the pompous elucidator carries on at top voice about media and the meaning of Marshall McLuhan, it is finally too much for Alvy. He steps behind a billboard and emerges with McLuhan (in person), who proceeds to tell the professor, "You understand nothing." The audience shrieked with approval and delight the night I saw *Annie Hall*. Then Allen steps out of character and speaks directly into the camera. "Wouldn't it be wonderful if real life was like that?" Another roar of approving laughter.

There are a number of lovely

Pirandellian scenes where Alvy and Annie in the present look at themselves in the past with great affection. It is this affection that makes the comedy moving rather than cruel like so much other American humor.

One of Allen's many talents is casting. He has put together in *Annie* a group of actors who are perfect in their roles, and he has gotten top notch performances from them all. Diane Keaton is particularly winning as the bumbly, clumsy, lovely lady of the title. And Allen has spun a magic web around her so that she even comes off as a singer although she is endowed with very little voice.

The comparison between *Annie Hall* and Ingmar Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage* keeps popping up all over the place. I suppose it is inevitable as both films are so centrally autobiographical and both so successful in their different ways.

The profit to be gained from the comparison is that it indicates that it is time to give Woody Allen a more significant place as a commentator on life and as a film maker, to recognize his originality and to realize that he is a deeply human humorist and not just a stand-up comic and gag writer. Because the character he portrays is self-deprecating we have tended to underestimate him. In *Annie Hall* we must finally take Woody Allen's humor seriously. That should double our pleasure.

—Mavis Lyons

Mavis Lyons is a film editor working in New York and a regular film reviewer for *In These Times*.

Rape trial dramatized on PBS

The People vs. Inez Garcia, a 90-minute court room drama based on an adaptation of the court transcripts of her first murder trial in Monterey, Calif., in 1974 will be aired nationally over PBS on Wednesday May 25 at 10 PM and again on Saturday, May 28, at 9 PM.

Garcia, whose case became a rallying point for the women's movement, admitted to the shooting of Miguel Jimenez some 17 minutes after she was raped, in a delayed action of self-defense. She was convicted and sentenced to five years to life. That verdict was upset in December 1975 and a new trial ordered. She was finally acquitted March 4, 1977, after having served 13 months in prison.

The subject matter of the drama, as written and directed by Rena Down, was intended to raise some basic questions rather than bare the facts. Is rape a justification for murder? Can an alleged rape victim get a fair trial in a judicial system dominated by men? Do minorities get a fair hearing before the American judicial system? Should Latin codes of honor be taken into account when faced with the tradition of

English common law? What should be the legal definition of self-defense?

These are very big questions, which the drama does not find answers for. Probably no drama could. But *The People vs. Inez Garcia* labors under special difficulties flowing from the fact that the case was actually in the court while the teleplay was being written. (Originally Down wrote it as a play, which was done by the Berkeley Stage Company in the fall of 1975.)

Under these circumstances the author had no leeway whatsoever to manipulate the material in the interest of exploring other aspects of the questions, or of greater impact. The result is a rather uneven drama, each act opening with the courtroom empty and taking its own time to develop a head of steam.

Silvana Gallardo plays Inez Garcia with great skill, starting as a sullen prisoner who scarcely seems able to understand the proceedings in which she is involved. As the case unfolds, she draws strength from the support of the women who sit in the court room, until she finally becomes bold enough to break through the

conventional pleas of the attorney assigned to defend her as well as her own cultural reticence and declares her right to defend herself against her attacker.

What comes across most clearly is how much the Greek chorus of "sisters" supported Garcia in this growth. One wonders in what way they may have influenced the real trial.

The fact is that Garcia was convicted in her first trial because the jury did not really believe she had been raped. A different impression was created in the second trial when the partner of the man she killed refused to testify, invoking his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination. It is impossible to say whether it was Garcia's new strength or the prosecution's weakness that made the crucial difference in the outcome.

Inez Garcia is the first major production to be done in the new studios of KQED in San Francisco and the first dramatized version of so recent a piece of history to appear on America's home screens. It deserves a big viewing audience.

—Mavis Lyons



THE POWER OF THE

PEOPLE: Active Nonviolence
in the United States

\$15 hard cover; \$7.95 paperback

Suddenly there is a nonviolent movement again.

Seabrook is the clearest sign. But what about the successful 26-day sit-in by the disabled in a regional office of HEW? Or the arrest of 200 persons at Stanford protesting university investment in South Africa? Something broader than any particular demonstration has happened, is happening.

Nor can there be any doubt that what was reborn at Seabrook was, indeed, the nonviolent movement of yore. To be sure, it was better organized. Here for a change, nonviolent demonstrators acted in concert with local community feeling. The style however, was vintage WIN. Confronted with a demand at one of the armories that men and women must be separated, arrestees inextricably tangled their shoes in the center of the floor.

Another sign of the nonviolent times is the debate within the peace movement over human rights in Vietnam. If one can set aside the question of who is right about the facts, most of the disputants agree that the facts should be measured by a yard-

stick no different for revolutionaries than for their antagonists. This is an important departure from the atmosphere in which the movement claimed the First Amendment for itself while insisting that it should be denied to opponents.

The Power of the People makes a nice present for a friend upon release from a New Hampshire armory.

There are three books in its pages. First is a collection of pictures. On the cover montage we see the wampum belt presented to William Penn in 1681 by the Delaware Indians; Sarah Grimke (if you don't know who she was, read the book); a group of Socialist party members imprisoned for opposing World War I; Jane Addams at age 72 demonstrating for peace at the Democratic National Convention; an unemployed parade in 1909. Elsewhere are Dave Dellinger on his arrest for noncooperation in 1940, A.J. Muste in many moods, pictures

BOOKS

Nonviolence makes history



Angry woman pours a soda down the neck of nonresisting picketer of missile base site.

of dozens and dozens of our demonstrators. The pictures, in short, are remarkable.

A second "book," interspersed with the others, is a kind of dictionary of biography: vignettes of individuals and organizations. If you're curious to know more about Peter Maurin, or Bayard Rustin, or Alice Paul, they will help. Somehow, too, their presence keeps bringing us back to the notion of a tradition made up

of people, some of whom we knew and who, even as we knew them, were making and becoming part of history.

Finally, most of the 200-plus pages of *The Power of the People* are text: history. Roughly half of this material deals with the period since World War II. Earlier episodes are not slighted, however. Chapters on the attitudes of colonial American peace churches and on women's suffrage, are most substantial.

The difficulty of doing the later chapters can be tested by the reader if, for instance, he or she attempts to write a history of the movement against the Vietnam war in, say, 5,000 words. And a good way to assure oneself of the objectivity and readability of the text overall is to begin at the end and read the chapter on this subject.

Everyone will find certain sentences that might be recast. But surely the biggest danger in a venture of this sort is an over-simpli-

fication of history in the direction of moralisms like "If only they had been nonviolent," or, "See how nonviolence changed the course of events." This pitfall has been avoided.

To be sure, I don't myself know the basis for saying that the sit-in tactic was adopted in the 1930s largely because of A.J. Muste's suggestions, and too much (e.g. the Wagner Act) is omitted by the conclusion: "The sit-ins succeeded in winning union recognition where decades of conventional strike actions failed."

Yet on the whole the authors are too busy sharing the facts they found that they forebear to impose interpretation. It's a good text, I think: solidly researched, readable, unpretentious. A worthy vessel for the spirit of nonviolence at what may be a critical moment in that spirit's history? Yes; or if one prefers, a darn good picture book about a lot of people worth remembering, including ourselves.

The Power of the People is available from Peace Press, 3828 Willat Ave., Culver City, CA 90230.

—Staughton Lynd

Staughton Lynd's column "Labor and the Law" appears regularly in *In These Times*.

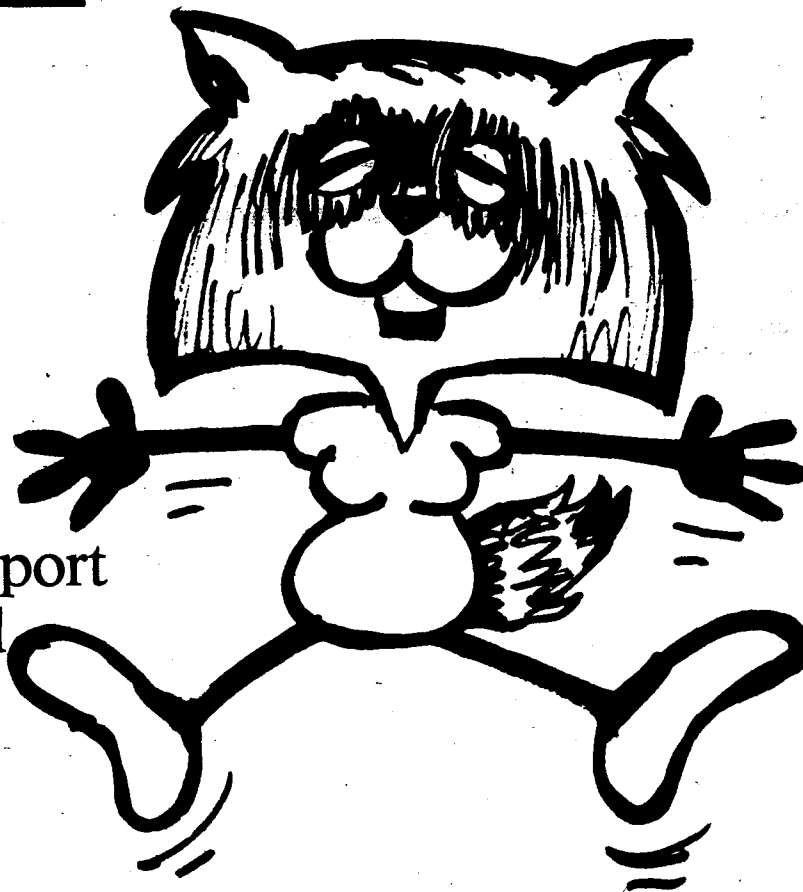
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RECORDS

Unsubstantiated Rumours

RUMOURS

Fleetwood Mac
Warner Brothers Records

Rumours is the long-awaited sequel to Fleetwood Mac's enormously successful previous album, *Fleetwood Mac*, which has been on the charts for an incredible 90-odd weeks. It's hard to listen to either AM or FM radio for more than 30 minutes without hearing "Dreams," the group's latest single off the album.

Fleetwood Mac hasn't always been this popular. Formed in Great Britain ten years ago, the band enjoyed moderate success on both sides of the Atlantic as a competent, though no-great-shakes, blues band. The group's enormous surge in popularity shifted the band's sound in a more mellow, vocally-oriented direction.

The combination of the most recent additions, Americans Stevie Nicks and Lindsey Buckingham, and Christine McVie (who joined the band in the early '70s) give Fleetwood Mac three singer/songwriters of considerable talent. They blend well with the solid rhythm section provided by Fleetwood Mac's only original members, drummer Mick Fleetwood and bassist John McVie.

Unfortunately, *Rumours* doesn't match up to the group's previous work. Buckingham and Christine McVie, in particular, seem to be in a rut. Their songs here are for the most part uninspired reworkings of formulas that proved successful in the *Fleetwood Mac* album. The only exception is Buckingham's "Go Your Own Way," which has an engagingly different syncopation and gives Buckingham one of his



Fleetwood Mac's Stevie Nicks

few opportunities to cut loose on the guitar.

But Stevie Nicks saves the day (and the album). Let me put my reviewer's cards on the table: I think that Stevie Nicks is one of the finest singers in rock music today. Her voice sometimes reminds me of a breathy Tracy Nelson, but it's best if you hear her on "Dreams." Her other two songs on this album, "I Don't Want to Know" and "Gold Dust Woman," are also original and exciting. (For some reason Nicks' "Silver Springs," which was released on the flip-side of the "Go Your Own Way" single, isn't included on this album. Although it's not one of their best, it would have helped *Rumours*. Cynics among us might think that Warner Brothers held it off the album in order to hype the sales

of the inevitably forthcoming Greatest Hits album.)

Rumours is lyrically claustrophobic, as virtually every song is about the break-up of a relationship. Although this theme is a staple to most rock music, in the case of Fleetwood Mac it reflects the widely publicized splitting-up of the two couples who made up 4/5 of the band (McVie-McVie and Buckingham-Nicks).

Fleetwood Mac will, I hope, rebound from *Rumours* and put out the collectively compelling music they are capable of. In any event, as long as they have Stevie Nicks, they will be worth our attention.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis used to sing with a rock group and is currently an editor of *Socialist Revolution*.

BOOKS

Growing up in Hell's Kitchen

HELL'S KITCHEN

by Benjamin Appel
Pantheon Books, N.Y., \$7.95

Forty-some years ago I used to visit friend Ben Appel on 23rd Street, the Chelsea area above which was Hell's Kitchen. I was a foreigner from New Jersey, now settled in New York, but Benny knew every inch and angle of his West Side neighborhood, and *Hell's Kitchen* has the ring of intimacy, of childhood intimacy.

Four teenagers (in this book) form their own small gang, the 1-4-Alls, and consider what to do: "It was a perfect day to go down the docks where the ferryboats churned the green water whiter than the milk ladled out of the metal cans at the Sheffield store on Ninth, or go over to Forty-second Street and Times Square with its tobacco stores guarded by painted wooden Indians and beg the men coming out for the picture cards inside their packs of Helmar or Sweet Caporal cigarettes." The smell, the sound of the city ripples through this writing, this story of two boys who settle down to decent if narrow lives and two others who wind up in an adult gang, one shot dead and one facing the hunting end of a gun.

Appel has just died. This is his last book. I think that he wrote it with particular love, a return past the harshness of some of his other novels—*Brain Guy*, *The Powerhouse*—to the scenes of his own childhood. The publisher lists it as "young adult." This tag is important for sales because the average YA novel sells 25,000 copies, but as a former publishing-house editor I know that many such novels are written for adults and relabeled for "the kids." I not infrequently passed novels submitted to me over to the children's editor where they were taken and published.

How about *Huckleberry Finn*?

How about *Moby Dick*? The line is hard to define, and today the young have little concealed from them. I think of June Jordan's novel of teenage love, *His Own Where*, or Anne Moody's *Mr. Death*, both breaking the age line.

Paulie, one of the 1-4-Alls in Appel's novel, I can tell is a self-portrait even though the outward details are altered. Paulie was observed by the Badgers, the adult gang, who liked his courage in a losing fight. They tried to recruit him and failed, even though he needed money for his sick mother. The margin by which

kids like him escape to some kind of decent adulthood in our cities is narrow. And the inner cities are getting worse.

I think this too was working in Appel's mind as he wrote this book, a symbol from the past pointing to a worse future. There is a kind of love and hope in the Paulie/Ben figure, but Appel has never concealed the raw hazards of our modern American life.

Since the depressed '30s, Appel has written some of the stronger novels of our time, notable among which are *A Time of Fortune* and *Fortress in the Rice*. It's time that these novels, along with his great book of Depression-era reportage, *The People Talk* (a premature Studs Terkel), should be recognized.

I still hear his nasal drawl. I still see his amused smile, amused at the naked ironies of life. I still have echoing in me his vibrant anger at injustice and his compassion for the hurt. These qualities, these timbres of a man and writer, continue in *Hell's Kitchen*.

—Millen Brand

Millen Brand is a novelist and poet. *Savage Sleep* and *Local Lives* are his most recent successes.

CLASSIFIEDS:

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Life in a steel town

BLUE COLLAR COMMUNITY

By William Kornblum

University of Chicago Press, \$4.95

William Kornblum had a fancy education at the University of Chicago's Center of Social Organization Studies. There he immersed himself in the Chicago school of "community studies" and equipped himself with a set of analytic concepts of considerable rigor and some sensitivity.

With this theoretical equipment he and his wife moved into "South Chicago," a steel town within the city limits of Chicago. He lived there for almost three years as a "participant/observer"—meeting, talking with and gaining the trust of an incredible number of people from all of the community's groups and factions. He participated in both union and ward politics in the area and even worked a six-month stint in one of the steel mills.

From this experience and three years of collecting notes and writing, Kornblum produced *Blue Collar Community*, one of the few works of American sociology that offers insight into the American working class, its social life and its style of politics.

Unfortunately, it is presented in the form of a scholarly monograph. Its analysis is so detailed and rigorous, its style so dry and matter-of-fact, and its politics so detached that it is not readily accessible to a general reader. It has the stink of a Ph.D. dissertation, which it originally was, and is addressed for the most part to a faculty committee that is overly familiar with such terms as "natural area," "ethnic succession" and "primary group." Nonetheless, through the sociological jargon there emerges an analysis of considerable perceptiveness and depth; and a concrete portrait of the richness and variety, and of the violence and provincialism, of working-class life. It took Kornblum six years to put it together; those who hope to understand and base themselves in the working class might at least take a few nights to read it.

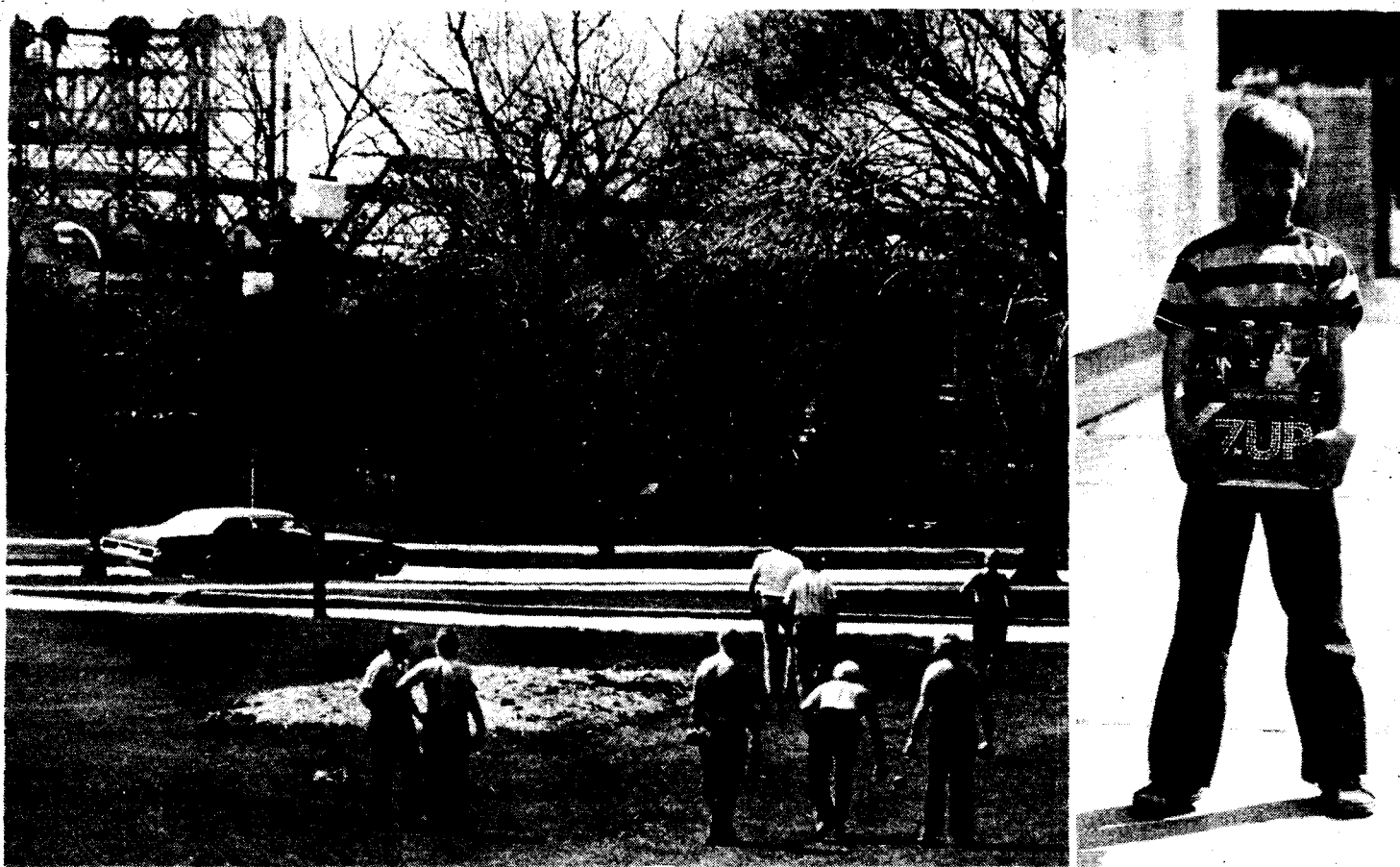
Conglomerate of groups

Like steel towns in and around Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Buffalo and Gary, "South Chicago" is a conglomerate of "ethnic" neighborhoods interlaced among steel mills. Practically every race and nationality in America exists within its boundaries. The lives of all are dominated by the steel industry—its dirt and noise, its paychecks and working hours. Historically, South Chicago is known primarily for its violent episodes: the Memorial Day Massacre during the Little Steel Strikes of 1937, the Trumbull Park race riots of 1954 and the mass murderer Richard Speck.

Kornblum lived in South Chicago at a particularly revealing time, when both the trade union leadership of the area and the ward machine were changing hands. Out of those struggles emerged the "two Eddies"—Edward Sadlowski, the United Steel workers dissident, and Alderman Edward Vrdolyak, an extraordinarily ambitious and gutsy "new breed" machine politician and one of the slimiest and most fearsome characters to emerge from the machine in some years. The ethnic and neighborhood politics that produced these two Chicago embodiments of good and evil are the main subjects of Kornblum's study.

The working-class politics that produced the "two Eddies" is not issue-oriented. It works more on the basis of established trust and a complicated structure of leadership than on programs, promises and proposals.

As Kornblum explains, South Chicago is made up of a dozen neighborhoods within which people form their primary human relationships of family and friends ("primary groups"). Each of these neighborhoods has its own unique ethnic composition and each is inhabited primarily by the families of steelworkers who work in those mills closest to their neighborhoods.



There is no pre-existing "community" of South Chicago. It has to be constantly negotiated and renegotiated by as diverse a group of people as ever lived within 15 square miles of city.



Photos by Jane Melnick

The people of South Chicago are divided among themselves, not only on ethnic and racial lines, but also in terms of neighborhood loyalties, union locals, generations and "primary work groups" within the mills.

Millgate Mexicans battle Irondale Mexicans. Second-generation Serbians and Croatians have smoothed over their differences for the most part, but they are at odds with recent Serbian and Croatian immigrants, who are themselves at odds with each other. Roll hands and laborers have essential conflicts within the mills that are aggravated by the racial and generational differences between them. Workers at South Works and Republic Steel are United Steelworkers, while those at Wisconsin Steel have their own independent union.

A way of creating community.

There is no pre-existing "community" of South Chicago. It has to be constantly negotiated and re-negotiated by as diverse a group of people as has ever existed within 15 square miles of city blocks. Union and ward politics are not something that takes place within the community; they are processes through which the community is created, and recreated.

An aspiring politician in such an area must first win recognition as a leader within a small group of peers (as a street fighter, a shop steward, an ethnic leader or a precinct worker). And then he must extend that recognition to an ever wider group of people. This is done not so much by making speeches and taking positions (though that is part of it, of course) as by negotiating a complicated network of recommendations, alliances and coalitions.

Where a middle-class voter will vote for an area-wide leader who articulates a congenial program or point-of-view, the South Chicago voter follows local lead-

ers' recommendations on how to vote in area-wide elections. The local leaders (either in mill or neighborhood) are constantly negotiating the best deals that can be won for their groups. The followers don't always understand what's going on, but they can be counted on to make a shrewd critical assessment of final results.

These negotiations determine in some measure what's going to go on and who's going to get what. Such deals offend middle-class sensibilities, but they are essential in South Chicago if Serbians, Croatians, Italians, Poles, Mexicans and blacks (each divided in various ways among themselves) are going to live and work together.

Levels of control from above.

Union politics and ward politics are very different sorts of games, and the interrelations between them are incredibly complicated, but the reliance on negotiated lines of leadership is common to both. That the results in recent years have been so different is not so much a result of differences in the local processes as in the control exercised over these processes by parent bodies—the USW and the Chicago Machine.

The Sadlowski group has successfully resisted the USW "official family's" attempts to force its will at South Works and in District 31. But the Chicago Machine gives its wards much less leeway. When Poles became a majority in South Chicago in the 1920s they were gerrymandered into two wards, their local voting power divided ever since. When the Mexicans put together a formidable political faction by negotiating a truce between warring Mexican neighborhoods, the Machine again gerrymandered one of the neighborhoods out of the ward. This didn't make things easy for "Fast Eddie" Vrdolyak, but it made them possible.

Kornblum, if you're patient with him, explains all this, and much more, in exhilarating detail. He doesn't draw any general conclusions about class consciousness or the future of the working class, but what he does advance is important to thinking about those subjects.

It is not clear how typical South Chicago is of blue-collar communities, especially ones that are not dominated by a single industry. It is likely that even in other steel towns, ward politics are only a shadow of what they are in South Chicago; thereby diminishing the organizational and political opportunities for working people.

I grew up in a Pittsburgh-area steel town very much like South Chicago, except that modern reforms had decimated the local machine and had done away with ward-level elections. These reforms eliminated a lot of slime, but they also did away with the gaps through which people could participate in politics on a daily basis.

Nonetheless, so much of American sociology's study of the industrial working class is marred by middle-class prejudices and presuppositions that Kornblum's study deserves special attention. Kornblum got close enough to working people to feel the power and attractiveness of their way of life, as well as the niggling and debilitating constraints; the courage and dignity as well as the timidity and narrowed horizons.

Though Kornblum is not given to such characterizations, his study of one steel town highlights the meagerness of our knowledge of the way things are among blue-collar working people.

—Jack Metzgar

Jack Metzgar is a free-lance teacher in several adult education programs in Chicago.